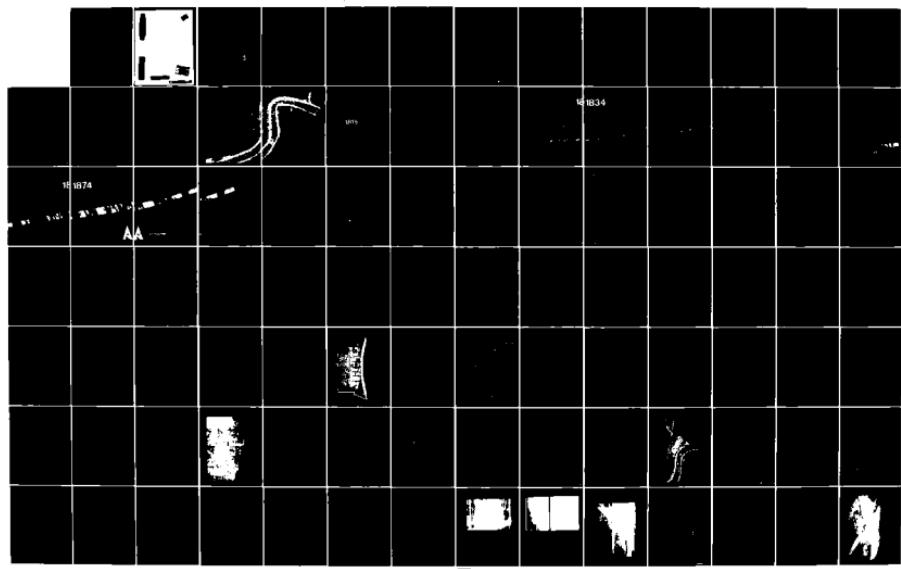
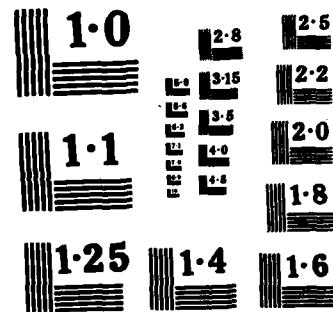


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ORLEANS (LOUISIANA) REEVES (SALLY K AND WILLIAM D) NEW
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ARCHIVAL EVALUATION OF FLOODWALL ALIGNMENTS
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

Sally K. Reeves
William D. Reeves
5801 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70115

November 15, 1983

FINAL REPORT

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ELECTRONICS
S SEP 26 1984
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Prepared for

U. S. Army Engineer District, New Orleans
P.O. Box 60267
New Orleans, Louisiana 70160

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20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) This archival evaluation of the riverfront of the City of New Orleans has determined that the movement of the river has been the major determinant of the possibility of 18th or 19th century sites in the path of the floodwall. For about half of the course of the floodwall, the floodwall is on new land created after 1840. The primary historically-significant buildings along the		

riverfront in the 18th and 19th centuries were commercial and industrial--cotton presses, sawmills, grain elevator, brickyards, and the dock system of New Orleans. This report locates the site of many of these structures. The floodwall crosses comparatively few residential structures.

The report analyzes the struggle over this new land--the batture--and concludes that its availability was a major factor in the commercial supremacy of uptown New Orleans. The present warehouse district, once the lifeblood of the city, stands on the batture precisely because it was new unencumbered industrial sites close to the population base.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ASP American State Papers. Legislative and Executive Documents of the United States Government published at the behest of the Government between 1834 and 1860. One set dealt with Public Lands, and volumes two, six, and eight contain material on Louisiana.
- CDC Civil District Court. Civil cases involving property matters were handled after 1870 by this state court for the Parish of Orleans. Records of this court until 1900 are located at the New Orleans Public Library; after that date at the Civil District Court Clerk Office.
- COB Conveyance Office Book. The Conveyance Office records sales of property. Its files are located in the Civil District Court building.
- LHQ Louisiana Historical Quarterly.
- NONA New Orleans Notarial Archives. Original acts of sale or mortgage were executed by Notaries Public. Their records were gathered into an Archives in the late nineteenth century and are now located in the Civil District Court building.
- NOPL New Orleans Public Library. This institution is the repository for the archives of the City of New Orleans, such as City Surveyor records.
- N.P. Notary Public. The Notary Public was a central figure in the early history of New Orleans because State law empowered the notary to pass acts of sale and mortgage. Once recorded in the Conveyance or Mortgage Office these records could not be controverted except with difficulty.

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We wish to note as well the cooperation and attention provided by archaeologist Tom Ryan of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, former chief of the Cultural Resources Section.

INTRODUCTION

In the 1970's the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers New Orleans District began planning for a floodwall to extend along the riverfront of the City of New Orleans from Louisiana Avenue downriver to the Industrial Canal. Existing levees, designed to protect a city situated in many parts below the river level, are located beneath docks. The reliability of the levees is difficult to assess so the Corps of Engineers decided to improve the system adding a floodwall. As required by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, Executive Order 11593 (Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment), and Procedures for the Protection of Historic and Cultural Properties (36 C.R.R. 800) the Corps was required to consider the impact of such a major construction project on the cultural resources of the community. From an engineering point of view the Corps also desired information about the proposed alignment to determine if significant underground structures or foundations would be found in the course of driving piles for the floodwall.

Accordingly, in 1982 the Corps contracted with William D. and Sally E. Reeves to conduct a historical study of the proposed alignment in an attempt to determine what structures had previously existed, to examine the change of landuse over time, and to assess the significance of any buried cultural resources. The Corps felt that the study should limit itself to the period prior to the existing wharf-railroad complex or prior to approximately 1907 when extensive levee work and railroad construction was undertaken along the riverfront in conjunction with the Public Belt Railroad. The existing landuse of the proposed floodwall alignment is exclusively railroad tracks.

This study is organized in two major parts--a

INTRODUCTION

narrative historical land use study of the riverfront and a geographical treatment of significant squares. The narrative is arranged chronologically and covers the period from 1718 until 1900. The geographical discussion treats the floodwall alignment beginning at the upriver end at Louisiana Avenue, and proceeds downriver to the Industrial Canal.

The most important determinant of the significance of the floodwall alignment has been the movement of the Mississippi River. Beginning at approximately Adele Street and extending downriver to St. Louis Street the river has moved towards its right or west bank in the past 200 years, meaning that the floodwall in that stretch of the riverfront is on new land, land created between 1830 and 1880. Eighteenth and early nineteenth century structures are thus impossible along half of the study area.

Floodwalls presently exist from Thalia Street to Canal Street and from Toulouse Street to Barracks Street. These areas were thus excluded from specific attention, though some consideration of events originating in those stretches and impacting other areas has been given.

The study area was divided into five alignments [Fig.1]. At the upriver end is the Louisiana-Jackson alignment, followed by the Jackson-Thalia alignment. A break occurs, then begins the Canal-Toulouse alignment, followed by another break. Then begins the Barracks-Desire alignment, followed by Desire-Industrial Canal. Because of the river movement, two of the proposed alignments are limited in their significance to an assessment of the dock structures thereon, as well as possible marine craft remains. Both of these cultural artifacts are quite likely to occur, but at random locations.

The other three alignments constitute the upriver and downriver ends of the study area. In these stretches the river has tended to erode the banks, but only very slowly, just enough to have brought the proposed floodwall alignment inland onto land that was once surveyed and that businesses and residences once occupied. These squares were defined by

INTRODUCTION

the 1857 d'Hemecourt plan of the city and earlier subdivision plans. Thus in the stretch from Harmony Street to Adele Street, and from St. Ferdinand Street to the Industrial Canal the floodwall actually proceeds downriver within the bounds of squares that once contained homes and businesses. However, these squares never became densely covered with structures. On only a few squares did structures appear on as many as fifty percent of the lots.

The significant structures along the alignment were the commercial facilities. Most important are the cotton presses, vast warehouses designed to store and compress cotton for shipment overseas. The floodwall grazes several of them between Henderson and Thalia Streets, the area of their greatest concentration. After cotton presses in importance to the commercial development of New Orleans were the numerous other warehouses built in the early 19th century--notably the tobacco warehouses. Next are the sawmills and brickyards, two businesses that supported the construction of the city itself. Along the site are three breweries and one important grain elevator, the first grain elevator in the city--a harbinger of the tremendous grain business of the 20th century.

After commercial structures the city's docks are significant. They were built along with the takeoff of the New Orleans economy in the first 40 years of the century, and they gave the city the ability to handle the steadily rising flow of commerce that brought the ante-bellum prosperity. Five types of docks appeared--early finger docks, Nuisance wharves, "T" docks, angled docks, and modern wide docks. Finger docks resembled short bridges stretching into the river. Nuisance wharves were not so much a single structural form as a function--throughout the nineteen century they served as the point for disposal of waste into the river. "T" docks were modified finger docks. Angled docks were modified "T" docks with a sloping incline in the center. In the later nineteenth century the sloping incline

INTRODUCTION

was incorporated in the modern wide dock. Remains of docks might be found in the St. Louis to Toulouse area and in the Adele Street to Thalia Street area.

Next in importance would be any 18th century remains that may turn up. Few 18th century structures were placed close to the river. Landowners were required to maintain a road along the river, inside of a levee. This road has remained, with only occasional movement, as Tchoupitoulas Street uptown and North Peters downtown. Plantation structures were set back from the river to allow for gardens and driveways, but also to protect the buildings from unexpected shifts in the river bank. In the lowest part of the study area the floodwall may penetrate some eighteenth century fields of indigo or sugar. Identification of remnants of these crops would be significant as to their date and presence.

Next in significance would be the identification of more personal human artifacts. First would be the workmen along the river, did they leave any evidence of their labor on the levee or docks that may have sifted into the soil? Trinkets, tin badges of authorization, and hand tools might tell some story of the underclass of workmen, both slave and free, along the riverfront. Second would be the residential structures along the study area in the Jackson-Louisiana alignment and the Desire-Industrial Canal alignment. The floodwall will cross several documented homes in a very favorable orientation and could provide data on life in the lowest suburbs of New Orleans in the early nineteenth century.

In ante-bellum New Orleans economic power came to predominate in the Faubourgs (suburbs) above the French Quarter. This study suggests some new factors that facilitated this concentration of wealth. First was the batture, the new land more than a thousand feet wide that the river created between the faubourgs and the river bank. This new land was free for development, untrammeled by old fences and old claims. Second, individual landowners boldly

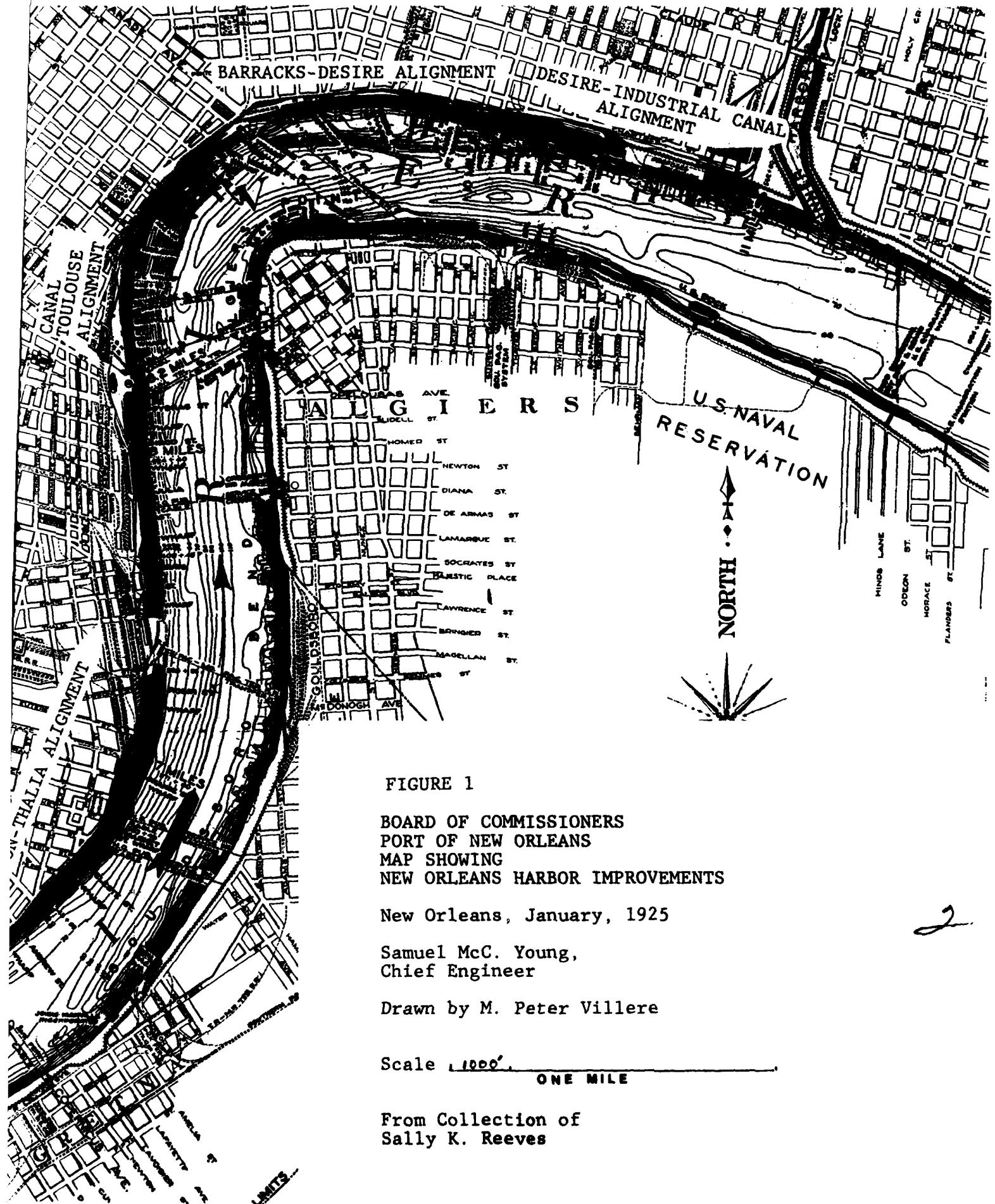
INTRODUCTION

seized the new batture uptown. Two of the owners of uptown faubourgs, Marguerite Delord-Sarpy and Thomas Saulet, early moved their levee riverward and sold off large front lots for major economic development. Third, virtually the entire expanse of the uptown faubourgs extending to above Jackson Avenue was subdivided by 1813, the year when the first downriver subdivision finished laying out streets. Fourth, the uptown faubourgs contained significant internal routes of transportation--Annunciation and St. Charles--that extended the length of the faubourgs. Downriver, there was no internal transportation until 1859 due to the presence of the intentional skewed boundary of Faubourg Marigny, the extremely deep Lower Cotton Press, the Macarty plantation that remained undivided, and several other parcels that existed in a rural state. In addition, there was no batture growth below the city.

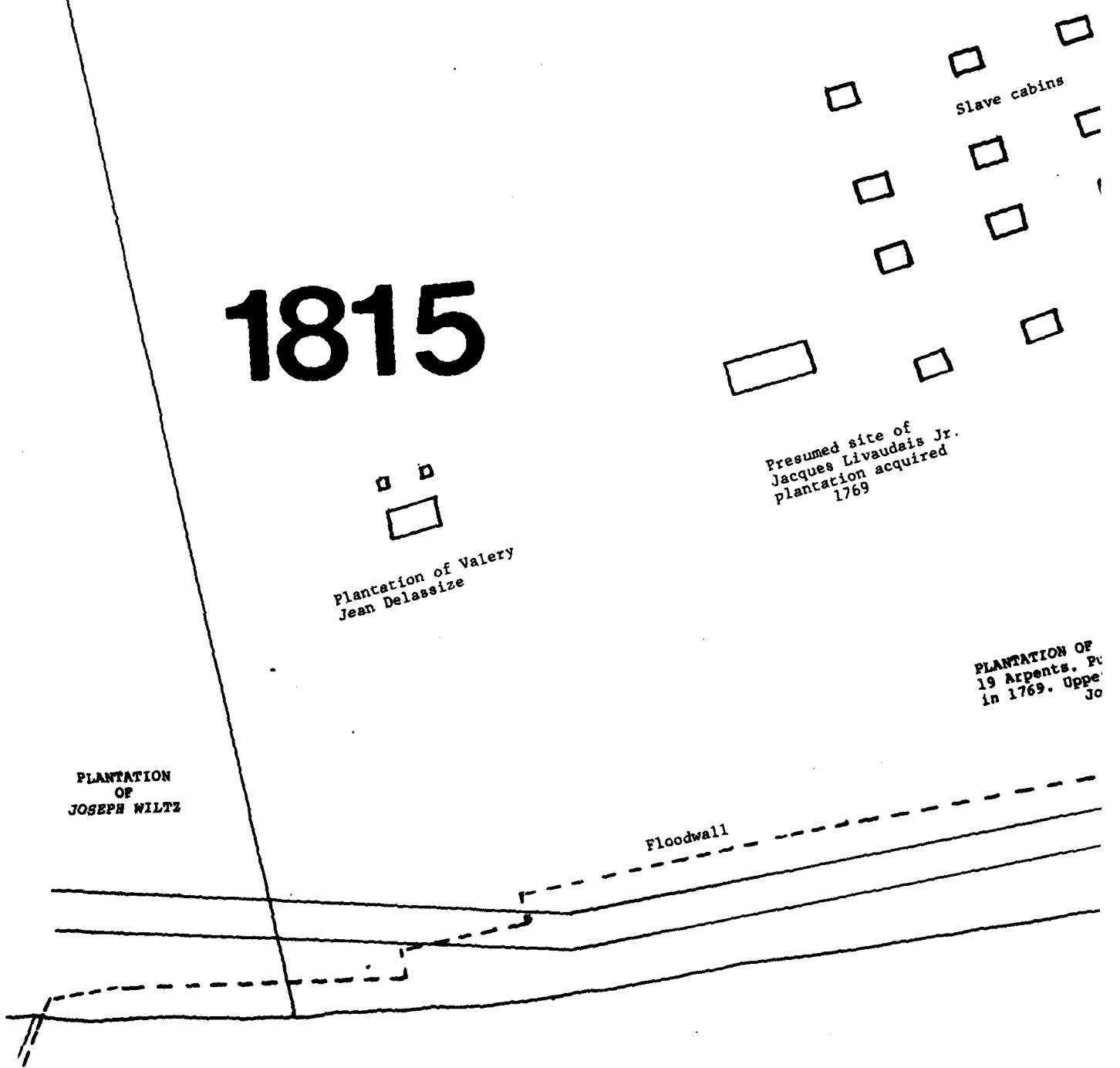
Foldout maps of the study area are provided following this introduction. The reader is advised to glance over them, working downriver from Louisiana Avenue, learning that most directions are expressed as upriver or downriver, since the study area is essentially a line with only two dimensions. Twelve foldout maps are provided. The first three [Figs. 2, 3, 4] show the floodwall in the Louisiana to Jackson stretch at three different time periods. The fourth [Fig. 5] provides a schematic ownership plan of the Louisiana-Jackson site in order to facilitate identification of archeological remains from various periods. The next two maps [Fig. 6, 7] provide a geographical view of the floodwall and a schematic ownership plan for the site from Jackson Avenue to Thalia Street. The next four maps [Figs. 8, 9, 10, 11] show the Canal Street to Toulouse Street site as it evolved from 1765 to 1906. No ownership map is required since this has always been public property. The final two maps [Figs. 12, 13] show the floodwall from Louisa Street to the Industrial Canal and show the ownership schematically of the area from Barracks to the Industrial Canal.

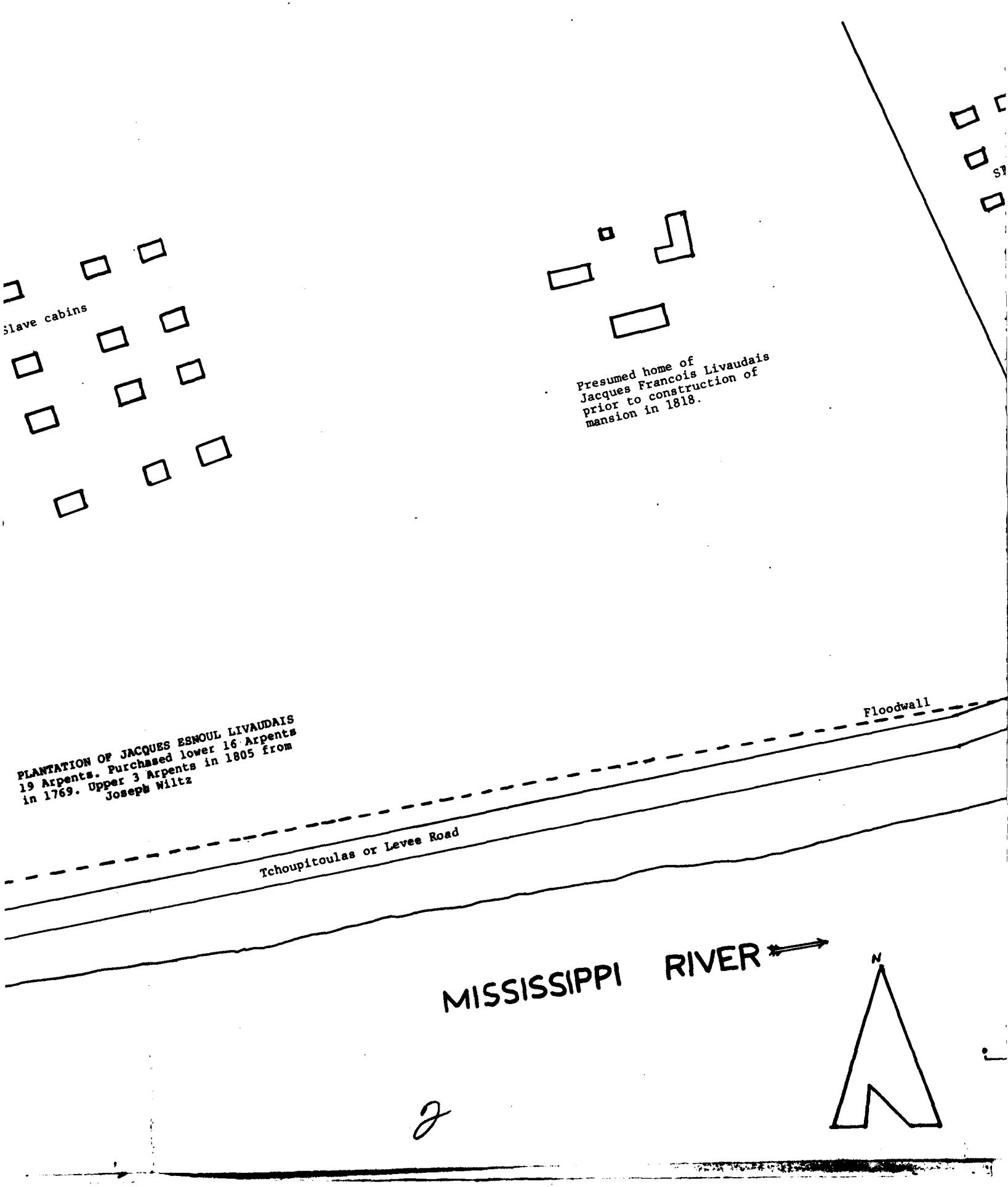
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1815





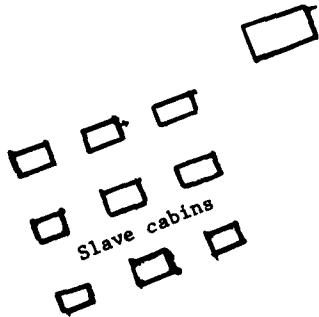


FIGURE 2
SOURCES

1. Map shewing the Landing of the British Army, its several encampments and Fortifications by Major A. LaCarriere Latour 1815.

2. Plan Indiquant le redressement du Chemin public sur l'habitation Livaudais 1832, par Benj. Buisson. Arpentage du 16 Janvier 1832 in Louis T. Caire, N.P., 2/24/32, vol. 18.

PLANTATION OF MARGUERITE WILTZ MILHET PANIS
Widow of Don Jacinto Panis who purchased
this 8 Arpent Plantation in 1779

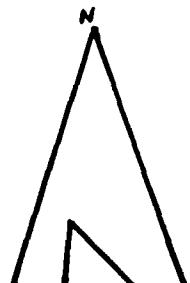
Floodwall

PLAN FOR ARCHIVAL EVALUATION OF FLOODWALL ALIGNMENTS

CORPS OF ENGINEERS · NEW ORLEANS

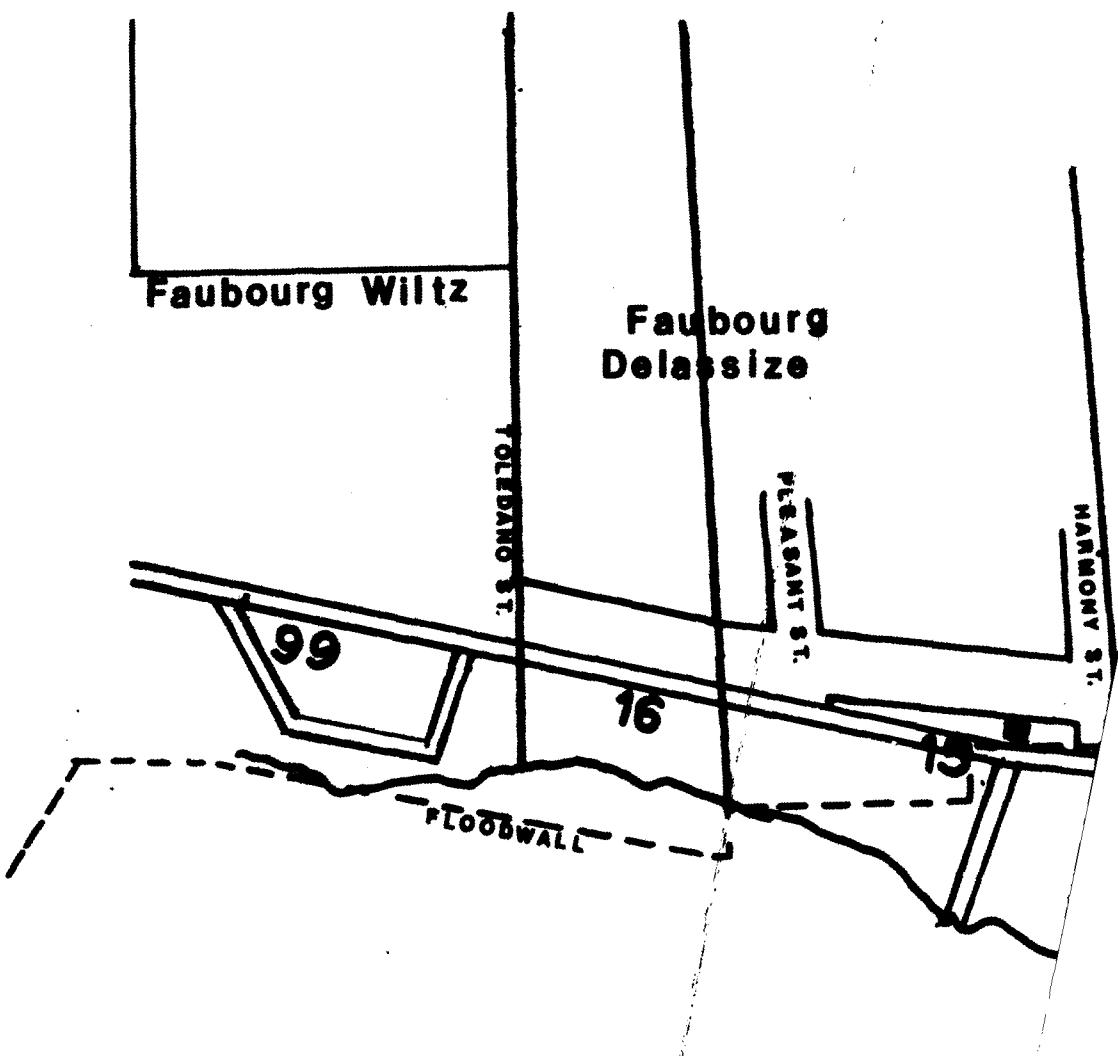
JACKSON AVENUE TO LOUISIANA AVENUE

PREPARED BY WM. D. & SALLY E. REEVES
SEPTEMBER 17, 1982

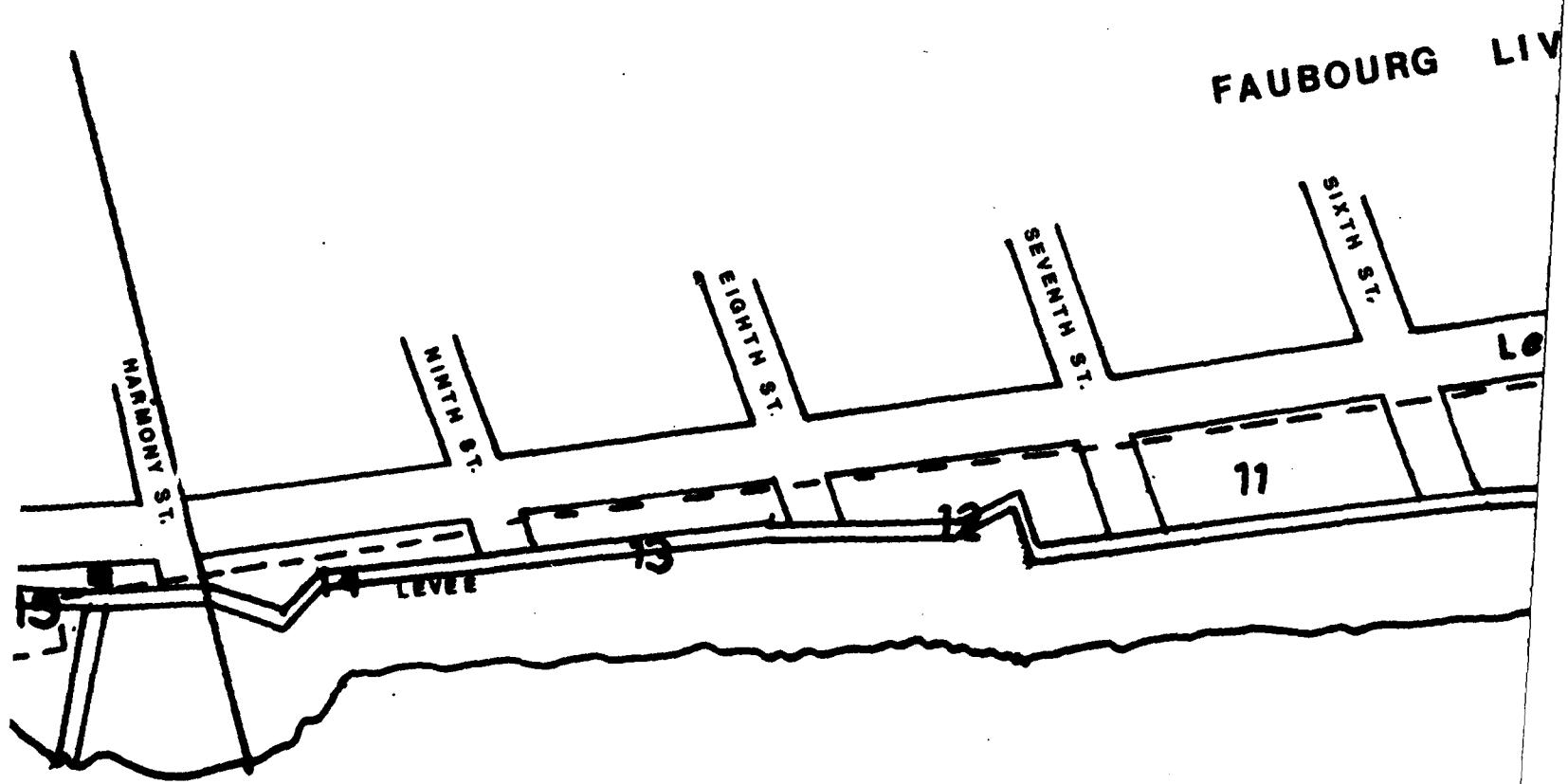


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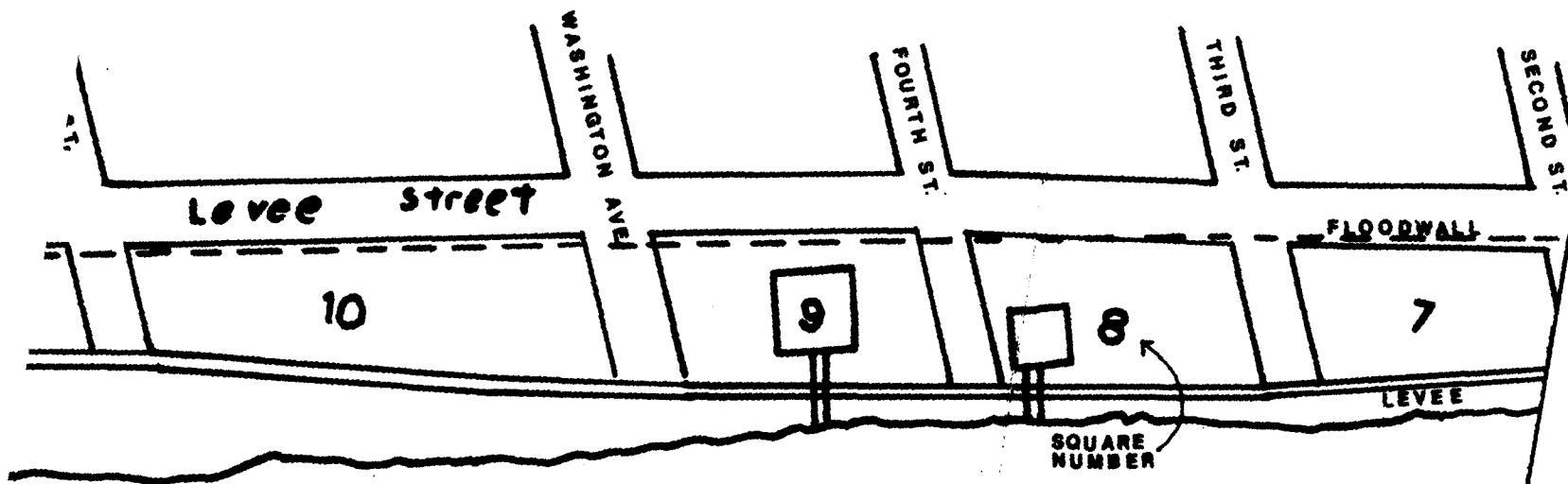


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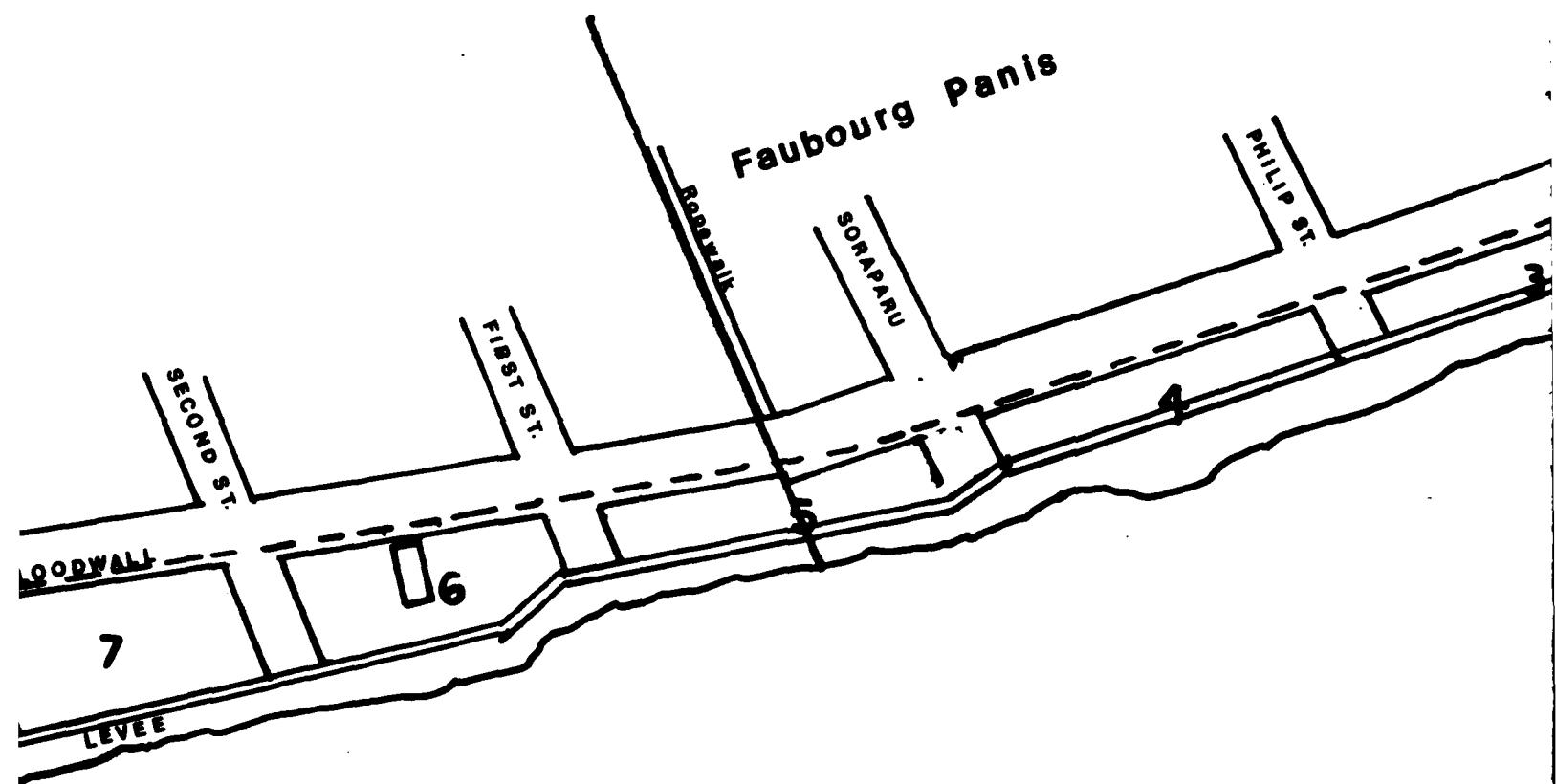
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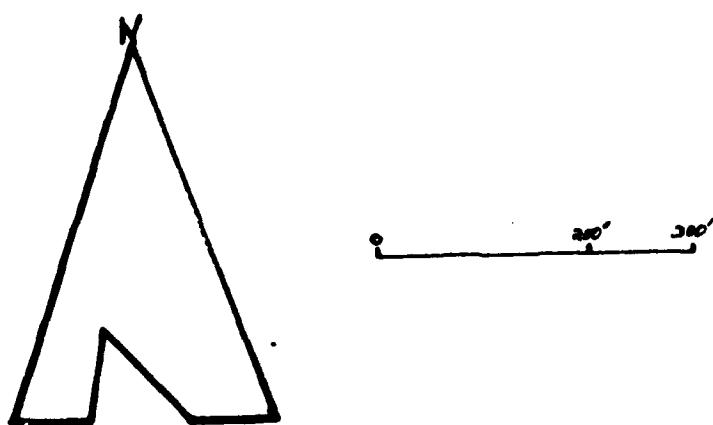
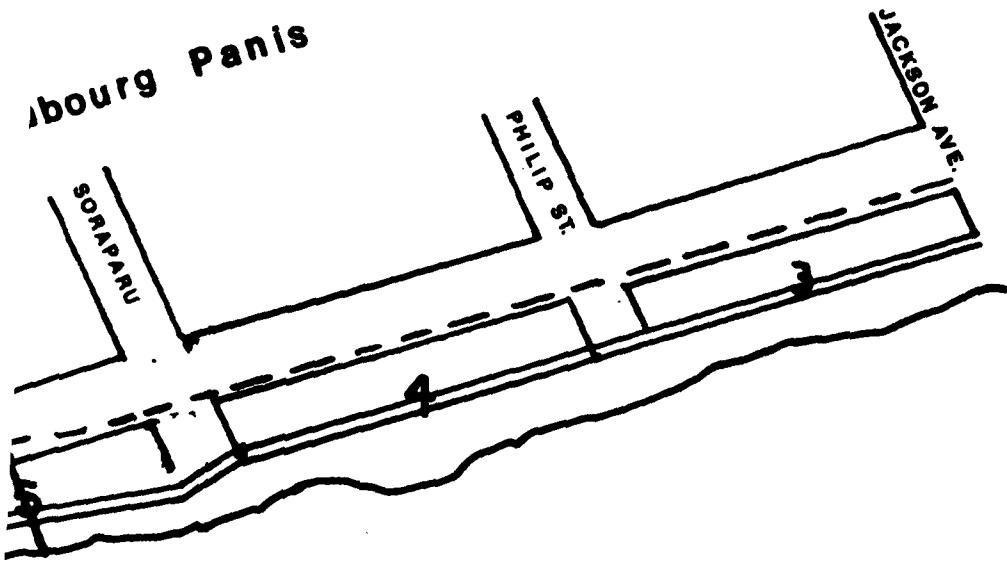


FIGURE 3

Based on Charles F. Zimp
"Topographical Map of Ne
New Orleans: 1834

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PLAN FOR ARCHIVAL EVALUATION OF FLOODWALL ALIGNMENTS

CORPS OF ENGINEERS - NEW ORLEANS

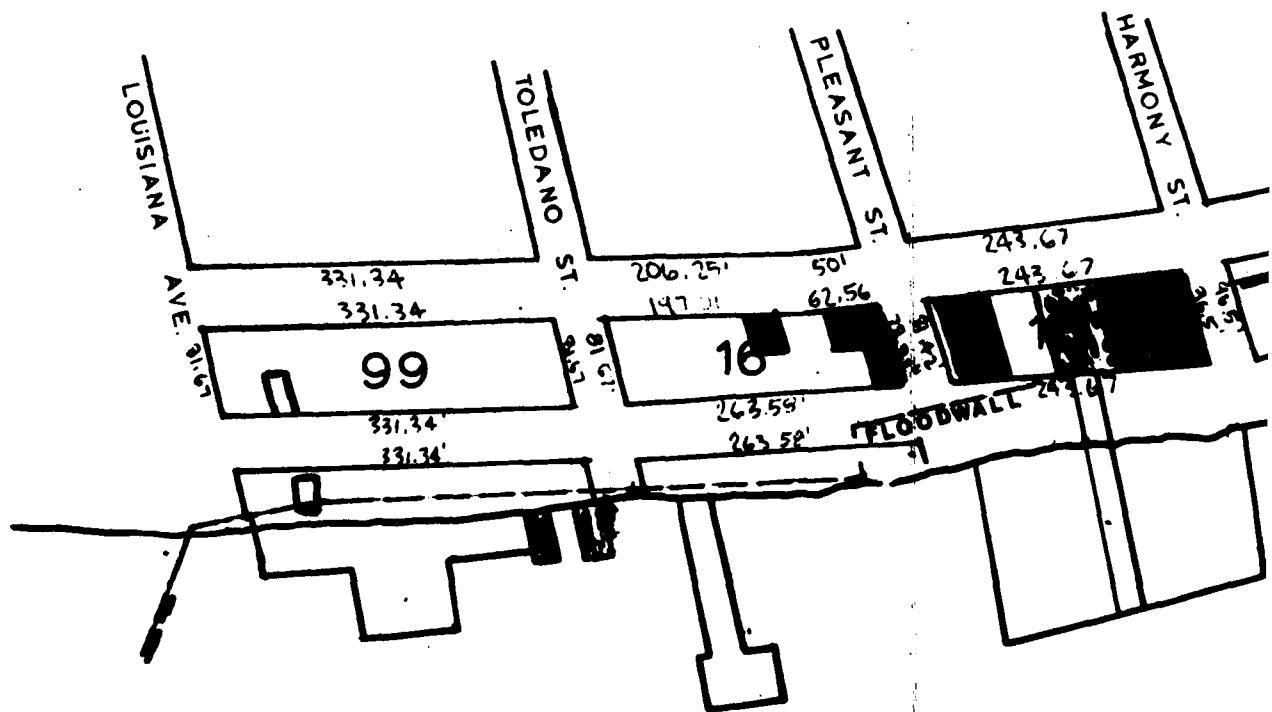
JACKSON AVENUE TO LOUISIANA AVENUE

PREPARED BY WM D. & SALLY E. REEVES
SEPTEMBER 17, 1982

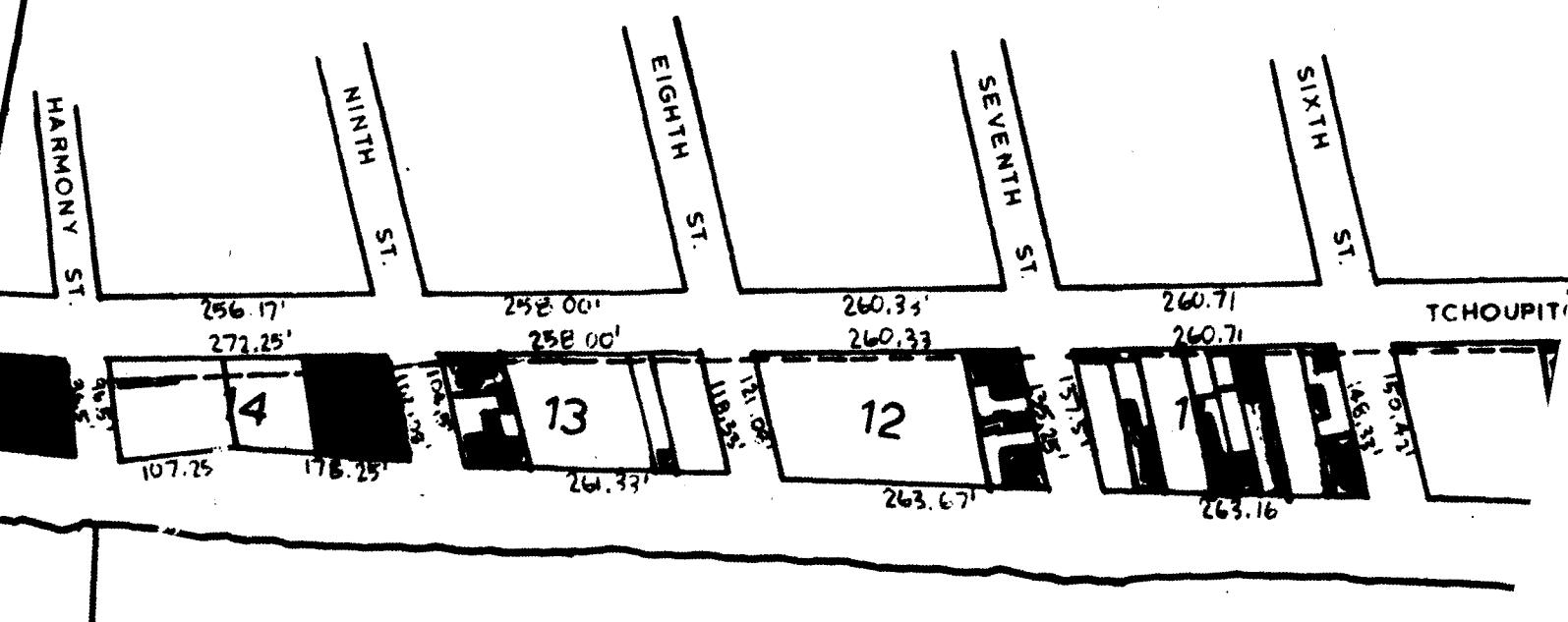
FIGURE 3

Based on Charles F. Zimpel
"Topographical Map of New Orleans and Vicinity"
New Orleans: 1834

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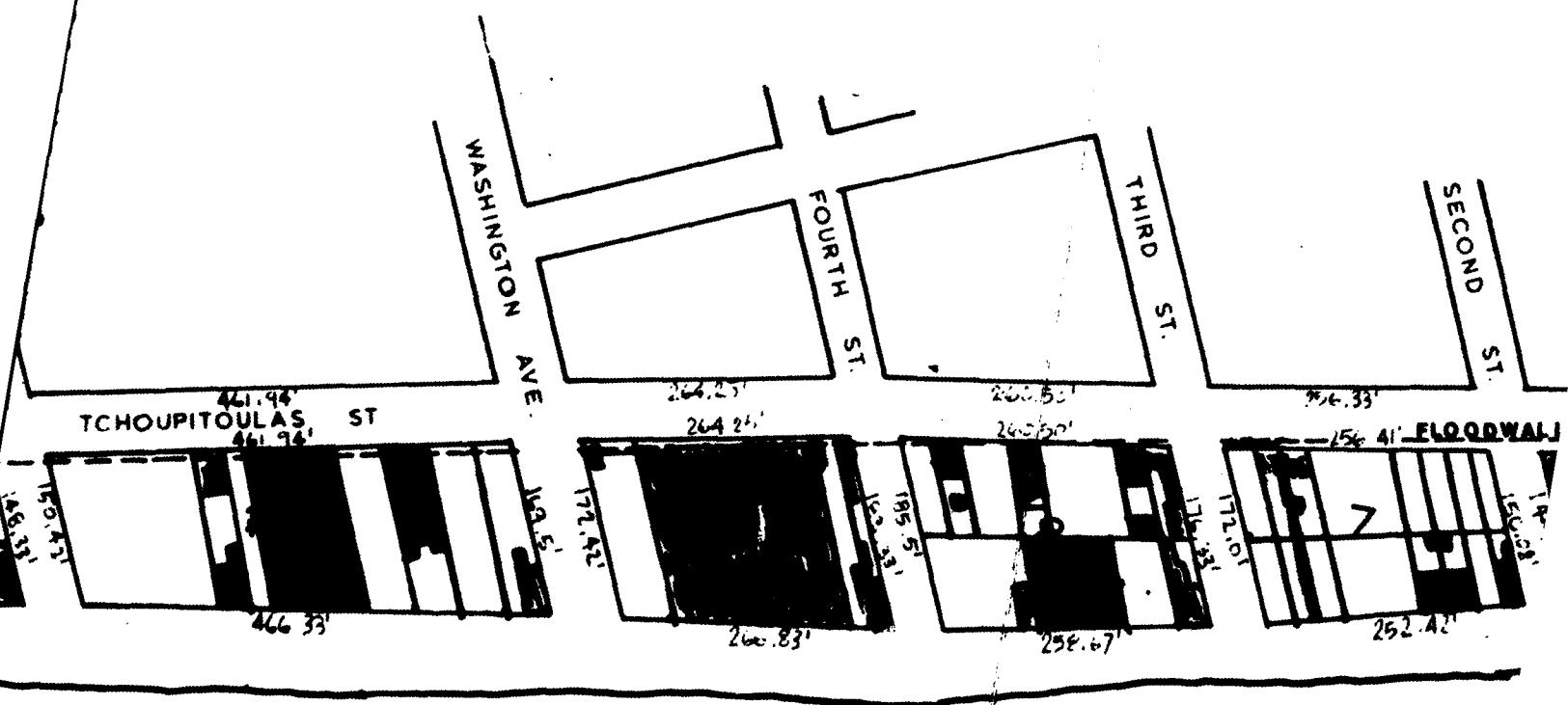


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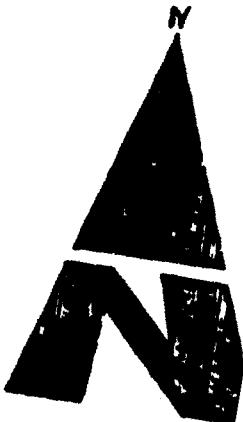


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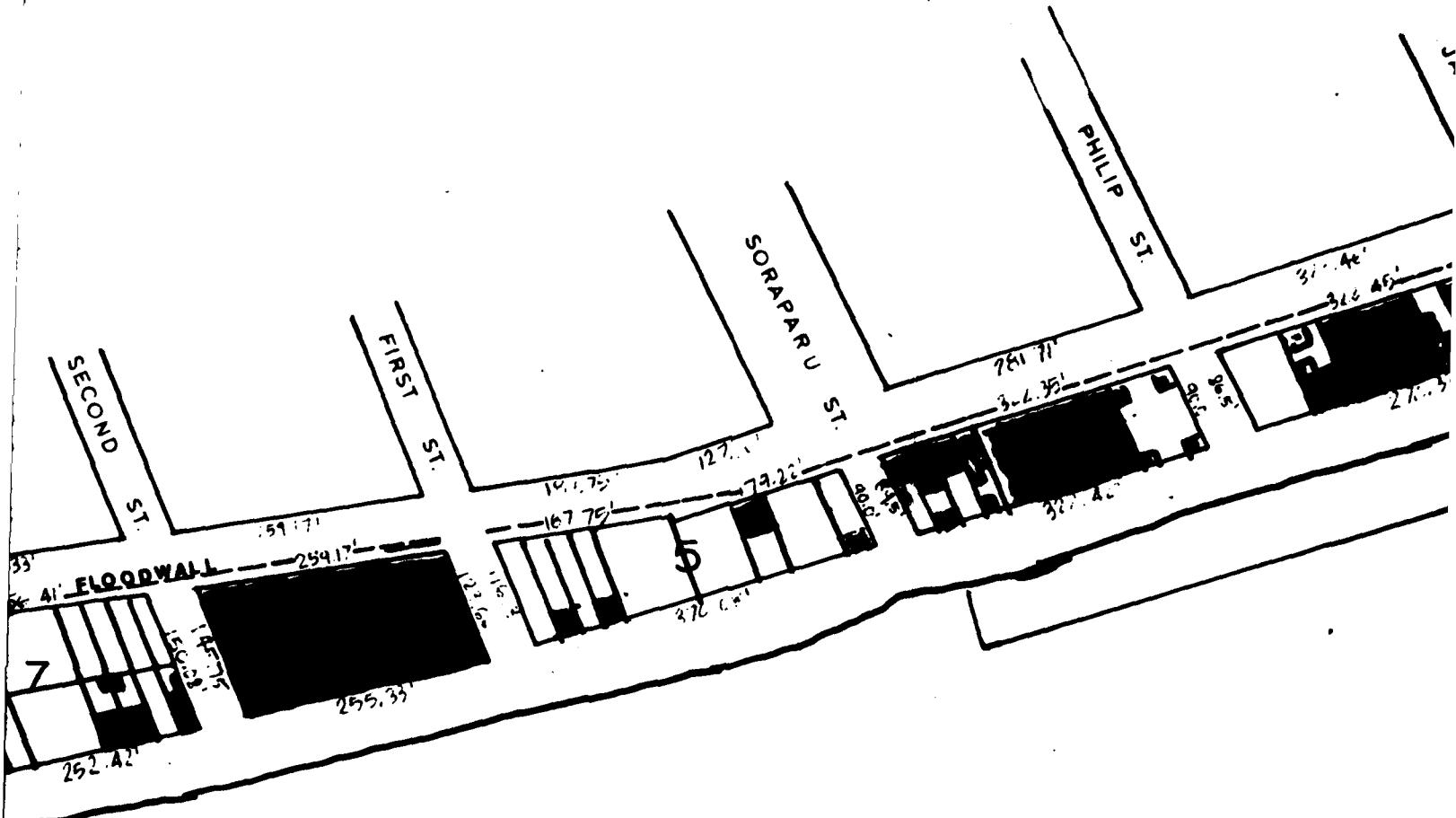
1874



MISSISSIPPI RIVER →



3



PLAN FOR ARCHIVAL EVAL
ALIGNMENT

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

JACKSON AVENUE

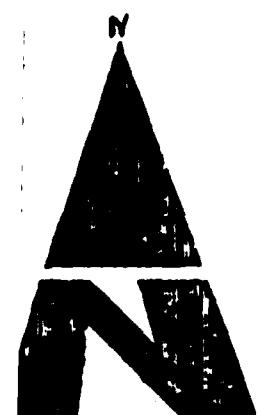
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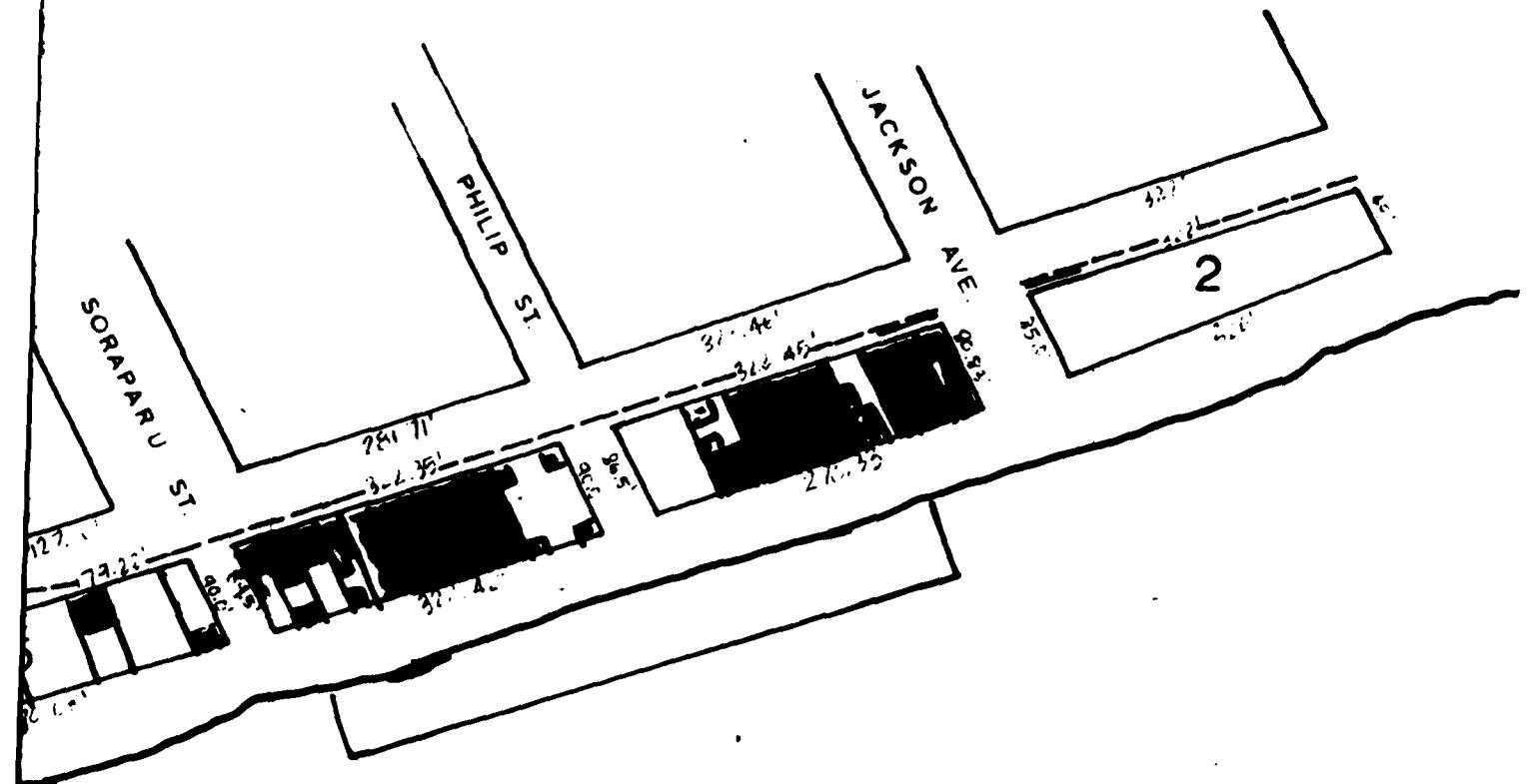
FIGURE 4

PLAN FROM: J.F. BRAUN, PLAN I
compr.
(New I)

GRAPHIC SCALE
200'
100'
50'

4





PLAN FOR ARCHIVAL EVALUATION OF FLOODWALL ALIGNMENTS

CORPS OF ENGINEERS - NEW ORLEANS

JACKSON AVENUE TO LOUISIANA AVENUE

PREPARED BY WM. D. & SALLY E. REEVES
SEPTEMBER 17, 1982

FIGURE 4

PLAN FROM: J. F. BRAUN, PLAN BOOK OF THE FOURTH DISTRICT
comprising 10th and 11th Ward
(New Orleans: 1874)

5

NOTES: "x" signifies a building on floodwall right-of-way
1. Felix Grima, Notary Public, 5/23/1836; L. Herman, Notary Public, 2/8/1841; G. R. Stringer, Notary Public, 3/20/1844; W. L. Pool, Notary Public, 6/13/1854; 4th D. C. #17591 (1868); P. C. Cuvillier, Notary Public, 4/1/1868, 11/10/1868. [Hereafter a person's name followed by a date signifies a Notary Public with date of the act. Acts are located in New Orleans Notarial Archives]

2. Square 16A and 99A were in the river until the 1870's. Ownership refers to riverbank adjacent to Floodwall site. Plan of Benjamin Buisson was done on April 26, 1836. Plan of Henry Moelhausen was done June 24, 1844, created seven lots each 17' 10" formerly lots A-F. Plan of C. A. Hedin dated November 29, 1850 created lots 1-4 formerly lots G, H, and 7 of previous plans. Lots 6, 7, G, H: Rockhill Robeson to Wm. H. Wetherell, James Graham 2/10/1866; to Wm. R. Crane, Selim Magner 4/20/1867; to Frederick Fawcett, T. Guyol 2/24/1868; to Wm. H. Wetherell, T. Guyol 2/27/1872.
3. Plan of Laclotte dated June 22, 1807. 42 lots. Plan of Benj. Buisson dated August 18, 1837.
4. L. R. Kenny, 2/26/1851--Warehouse constructed.
5. Warehouse constructed between C. Pollock, 6/27/1843 and A. Chiapella, 2/2/1844. Brewery 1867.
6. P. Pedesclaux, 9/9/1797, 5/2/1805.
7. Act lost. See P. Pedesclaux 9/9/1797. 3 arpents.
8. Etienne de Vaugine de Nieuamor to Jacinto Panis, J. B. Garic 8/2/1779.
9. See M. de Armas, 5/27/1818.
10. Joseph Verloin DeGruy to Santiago Livaudais, Andres Almonaster, 10/26/1776.
11. Madame Panis to John N. Smith, P. Pedesclaux, 5/26/1813.
12. Madame Panis to Patrick Wale, Jr., P. Pedesclaux, 9/15/1813.
13. Jacques Livaudais to Marguerite Wiltz, Widow Panis, P. Pedesclaux, 9/14/1797.
14. J. F. E. Livaudais to Guy Duplantier (brickyard), Marc Lafitte, 12/30/1822; Duplantier to Valery Jean Delassize and Widow Avart, P. Pedesclaux, 1/20/1825; Delassize et al to Samuel Herman, Jr., F. Grima, 3/16/1836.
15. Mrs. J. F. E. Livaudais to M. Morgan, S. J. Peters, Levi Pierce, Wm. H. Chase, L. P. Caire, 2/24/1832; Followed by public sale on 3/12/1832.
16. Subdivision into lots, Hugh Grant survey on December 28, 1842, Plan Book 91/48. Lots 11-20 in right of way.
17. New subdivision, Hugh Grant survey, February 2, 1844. For Robert Layton estate. Plan Book 102/18.

FIGURE 5
**A SCHEMATIC, CHRONOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP PLAN OF THE FLOODWALL SITE
1750 TO 1860**

FLOODWALL: LOUISIANA AVENUE TO JACKSON AVENUE
For
U. S. Army Engineer District, New Orleans
by
William D. Reeves Ph. D.

Date: May 4, 1983

Contract #: DACW29-82-M-1980

Louisiana Ave.

1750

1760

1770

Lorenzo Wiltz

Chéntalou

(7)

1780

Maria Barba Doll

1790

Lorenzo Wiltz

Joseph Wiltz

JACQUES ENOUL LIVAUDAIS

1800

JACQUES FRANÇOIS ENOUL LIVAUT

1810

1820

Guy Dupontier

Widow Avert

Valery Jean Delassize

Marie Celeste de Marigny (formerly Mrs. J. F. E. Livaudais)

1830

1840

MATTHEW
ROUDON

INTERSTATE
MERCHANT
BANK

R. W.
MILBANK
CO.

1850

LOUISIANA
MANUFACTURING
CO.

1860

N.O.
ELEVATOR
WAREHOUSE
CO.

1870

Louisiana Ave.

Tolidano

Pleasant

Market

Market

Market

Market

Market

Market

Market

Market

Market

Washington

1880

99

10

15

14

13

12

11

10

9

8

7

Jackson Ave.

Dellino

Chantelou

Etienne
de Vaugine

Jacinto Panis

Marguerite White
(Widow Panis)
(Widow Mihell)

24 23 22 21 20 19 18

Cathene Mihell

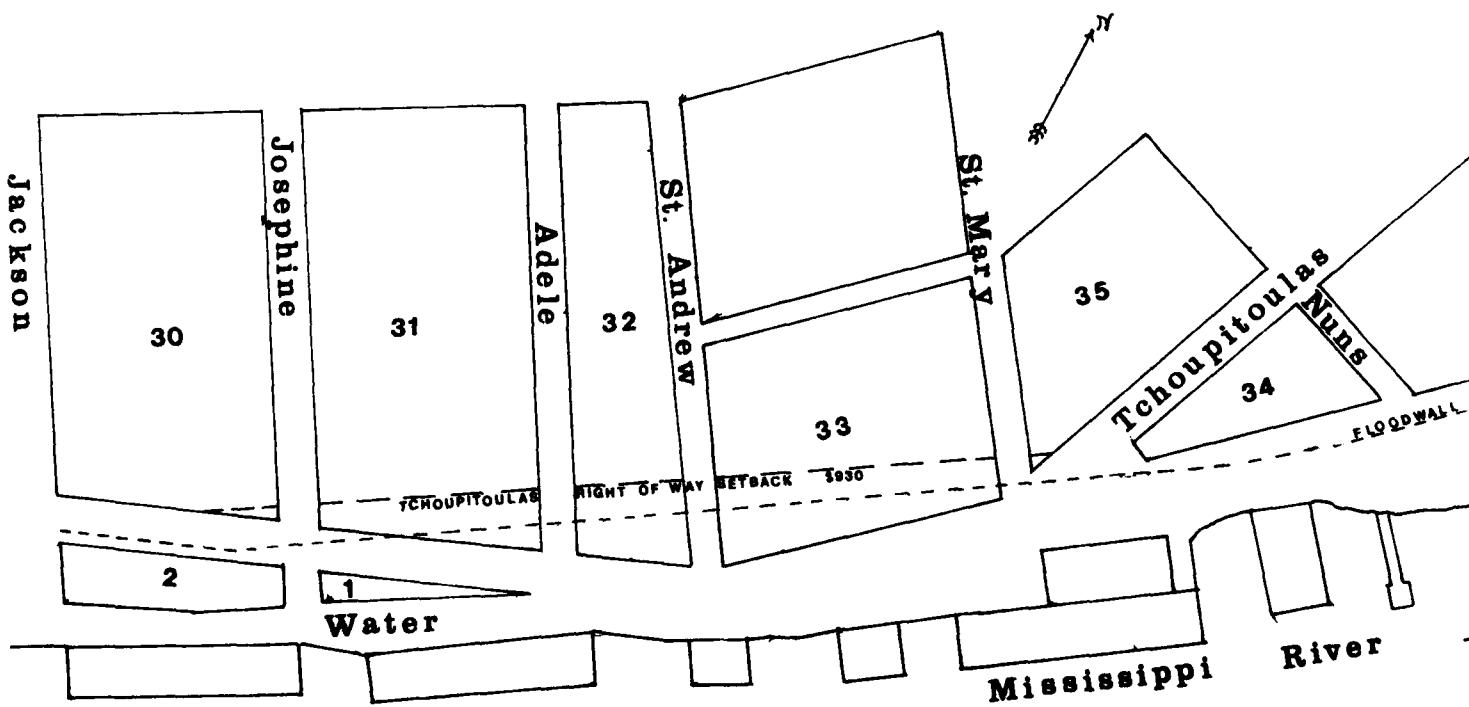
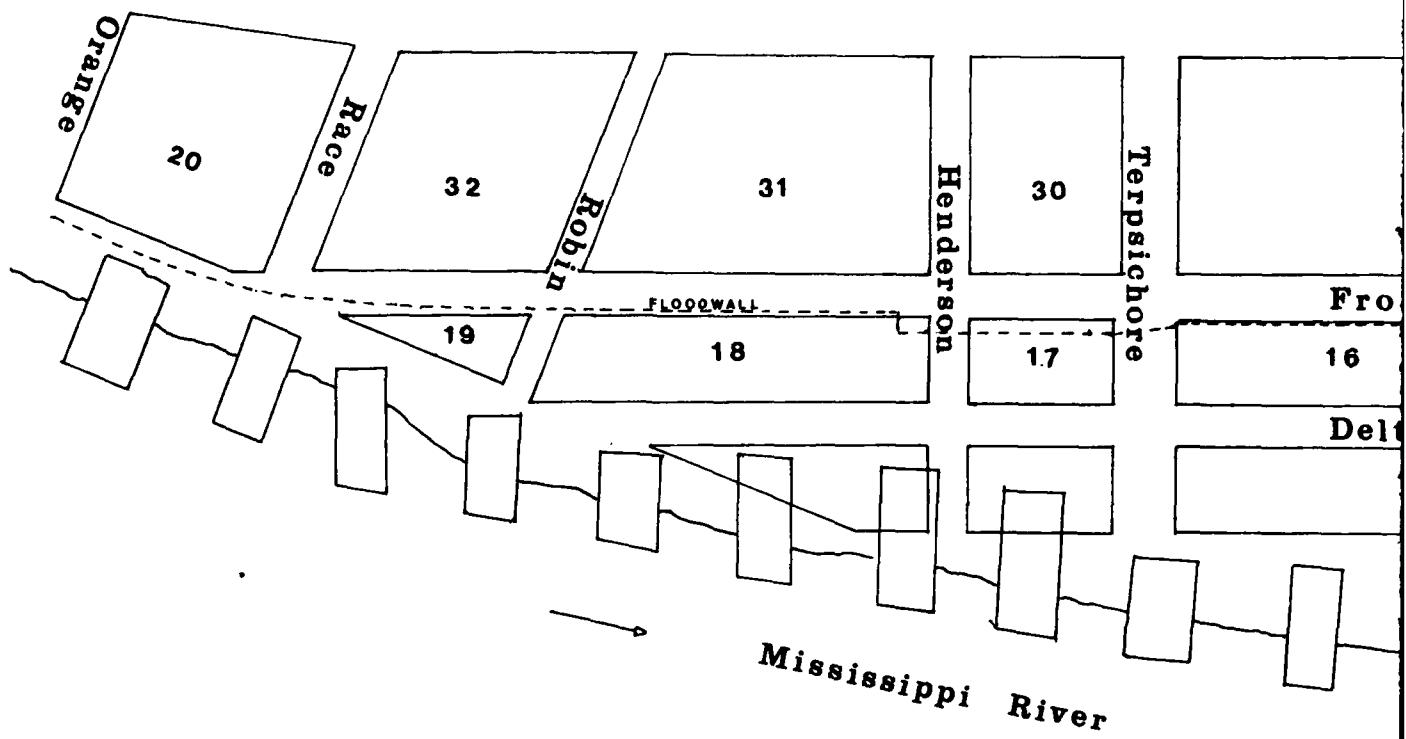
NOUL LIVAUDAIS

ÉCOIS ENOUL LIVAUDAIS

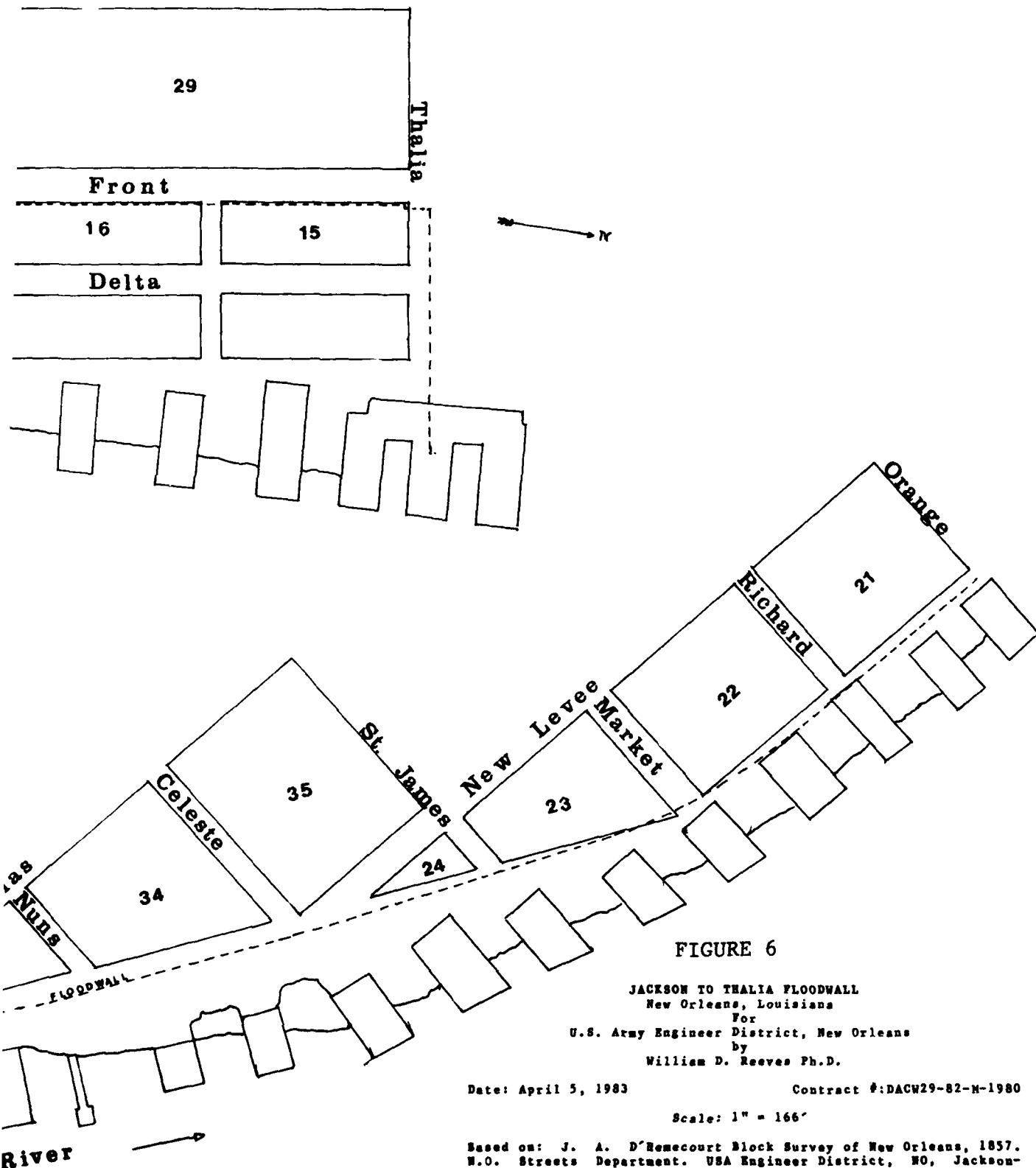
Property Mrs. J. P. E. Livaudais

10	WASHINGTON	9	FOURTH	8	THIRD	7	SECOND	6	FIRST	5	SOPARAY	4	PHILIP	3	TRACOMA
10	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	10	9	8	7	6

2



29



0 166 332

2

JACKSON AVENUE
1920

1730

1740

1750

Xavier Delino 19

Augustin Chantalou

1780

3770 Etienne de Vaugine

Gaspar Pictet

5740

Jacinto Panis

1790

1800

18.10

1820

1820

1840

100

100

Renault D'Hautrives

Santiago Livaudais

Santiago Livaudais

12

Santiago Livaudais
Ignacio Chalmell
Baltazar

Jacques

Ursuline Nuns

— 1 —

11

Alexander
Hamilton
Smith

21

Bienville

Lebreton

JESUIT PLANTATIO

10

24 Francisco Petit de Coulange

J. B. Garic

5

6

Francisco Enout Livaudais

Miguel Cantrelle

Francisco de Riano

4

3

2

7 Pedro Marigny

The

Jacques F. E. Livaudais

Pierre Robin Detogny

CALIFORNIA

ST. JAMES

MARSH

RICHARD

ORANGE

18

RACE

2

THALIA STREET

Blonville

ville

ANTATION

10

13

Estaban Garnier

14

Francisco Duplessis

15

Narciso de Alva

Joseph Foucher

Marguerite Carrière, widow Antoine Foucher **16**

J. B. Sarpy & Silvestre Delord Sarpy **17**

Marguerite Foucher, widow S. Delord Sarpy

Thomas Saujet

23

STATUE OF ORLEANS COTTON PRESS

HENDERSON PAGE FUND

TEMPORARY

6 200 100

3

THALIA STREET

an Garnier	14
plessis	15
Alva	
NET	
Jow Antoine Foucher	16
Delord Sarpy	17
Widow S. Delord Sarpy	

NOTES

This schematic plan represents ownership along the proposed floodwall as if ancient plantation lines had been extended toward the river. This stretch of the floodwall exists on newly created batture land, and the proposed site of the floodwall did not exist prior to 1830. Furthermore, the river crosses the property lines at roughly a forty-five degree angle, creating measurement distortions, most notably between the reported division of the Jesuit plantation done in 1763, and the later extension of lines due to the movement of the river.

1. Pierre Pedesclaux, Notary Public, 9/19/1797. Santiago Livaudais to Francois Enoul Livaudais to Ignace Chalmet Dulino. Two arpents 5 toise. Hereafter name followed by date signifies Notary Public and the act in the New Orleans Notarial Archives.
2. R. Perdomo 3/11/1790. Six arpents.
3. R. Perdomo 1/24/1786.
4. R. Perdomo (?) 10/22/1784.
5. A. Almonaster 6/6/1774. Five arpents.
6. A. Almonaster 8/8/1777. Five arpents.
7. P. Pedesclaux 4/14/1792.
8. N. Broutin 9/11/1806.
9. P. Pedesclaux 5/12/1807.
10. The divisions of the Jesuit plantation are shown by short broken lines. The arpentage was reproduced at least twice, once in 1807 for the first Livingston lawsuits, and again in 1819 for the settlement of 1820. The John Minor Wisdom Collection at Tulane University library contains an act that adds a new owner to the chain of title. Act of Sale, 12/21/1763.
11. N. Broutin 9/6/1810. Ursuline Nuns to Joseph De Ville Desgoutin Bellechasse, 386 French feet. In 1814 Bellechasse sold the land to Jacques Francois Livaudais Jr., and in 1818 Livaudais retroceded the land to Bellechasse, who promptly sold lots.
12. See N. Broutin-9/6/1810 and J. B. Garic 8/2/1779. Santiago Livaudais to Ursuline Nuns.
13. Jesuits to Luis Beaurepos to Francisco Duplessis, 3 arpents. See Louisiana Historical Quarterly XIX, 263.
14. Jesuits to Estaban Garnier to Francisco Duplessis, 5 arpents. Ibid.
15. Francisco Duplessis to Narciso de Alva, Public Sale 10/23/1782. Ibid.
16. Will of Joseph Foucher in Carlos Ximines 7/20/1792.
17. C. Ximines 12/7/1796.
18. The area on the riverside of New Levee (S. Peters Street) from above St. James to Race Street remained in disputed ownership until 1868, claimed by the Heirs of Robin de Logny and Livaudais, and the City of New Orleans. The property was subdivided and sold in that year by acts before Henry C. Dibble.
19. Xavier Delino to Augustin Chantalou on 9/12/1753; Augustin Chantalou to Etienne de Vaugine on 3/8/1758. The originals have not been found, but the sales are recounted in A. de Armas 5/27/1818.
20. Etienne de Vaugine to Jacinto Panis, J. B. Garic 8/2/1779.
21. Widow Panis to Alexander Hamilton Smith, P. Pedesclaux 7/10/1813. Front lots 1-7.
22. Widow Panis to Patrick Wale Jr. P. Pedesclaux 9/15/1813.
23. Common ownership by charitable legatees.
24. Heirs of Gaspar Pictet (Marienne Coutourie married 1st to Pictet then to Joseph Verloin Degruy) to Santiago Livaudais, A. Almonaster N.P.: 10/26/1776.

FIGURE 7.

A SCHEMATIC, CHRONOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP PLAN OF THE FLOODWALL SITE
1720 to 1860

FLOODWALL: JACKSON TO THALIA
New Orleans, Louisiana

For
U. S. Army Engineer District, New Orleans
by
William D. Reeves Ph. D.

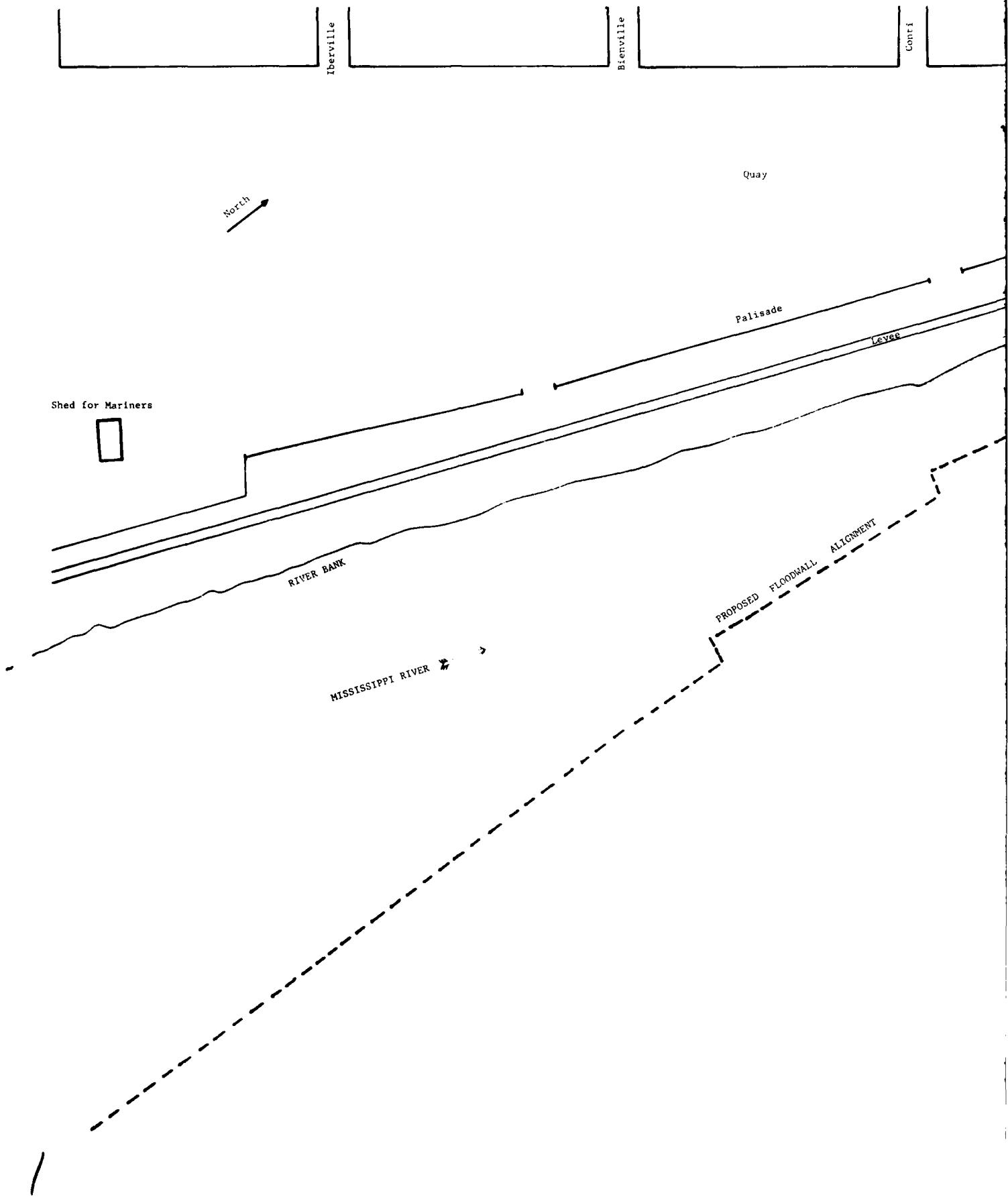
Date: July 1, 1983

Contract #: DACW29-82-M-1980

5' 25' 50'

5' 25' 50'

4



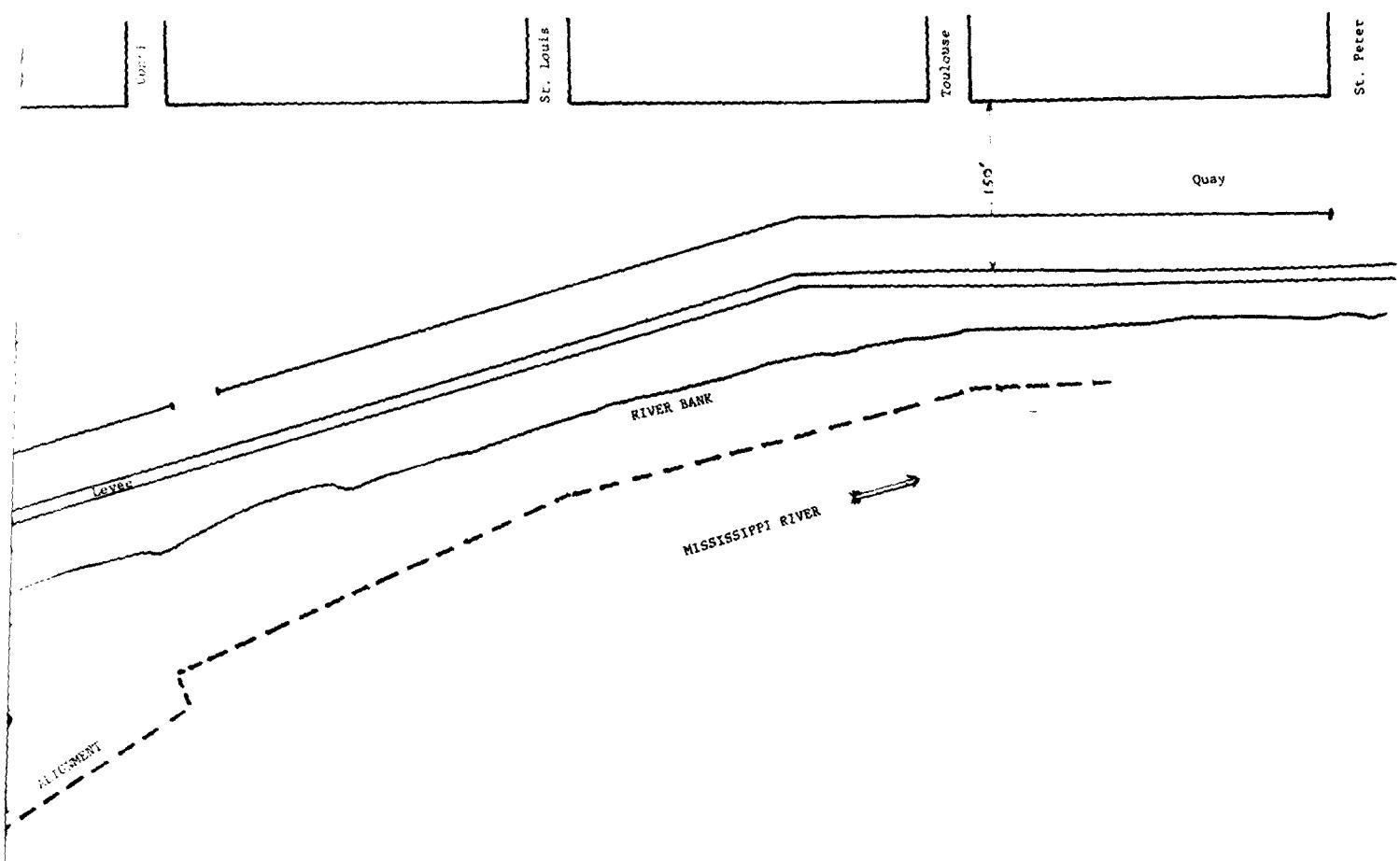


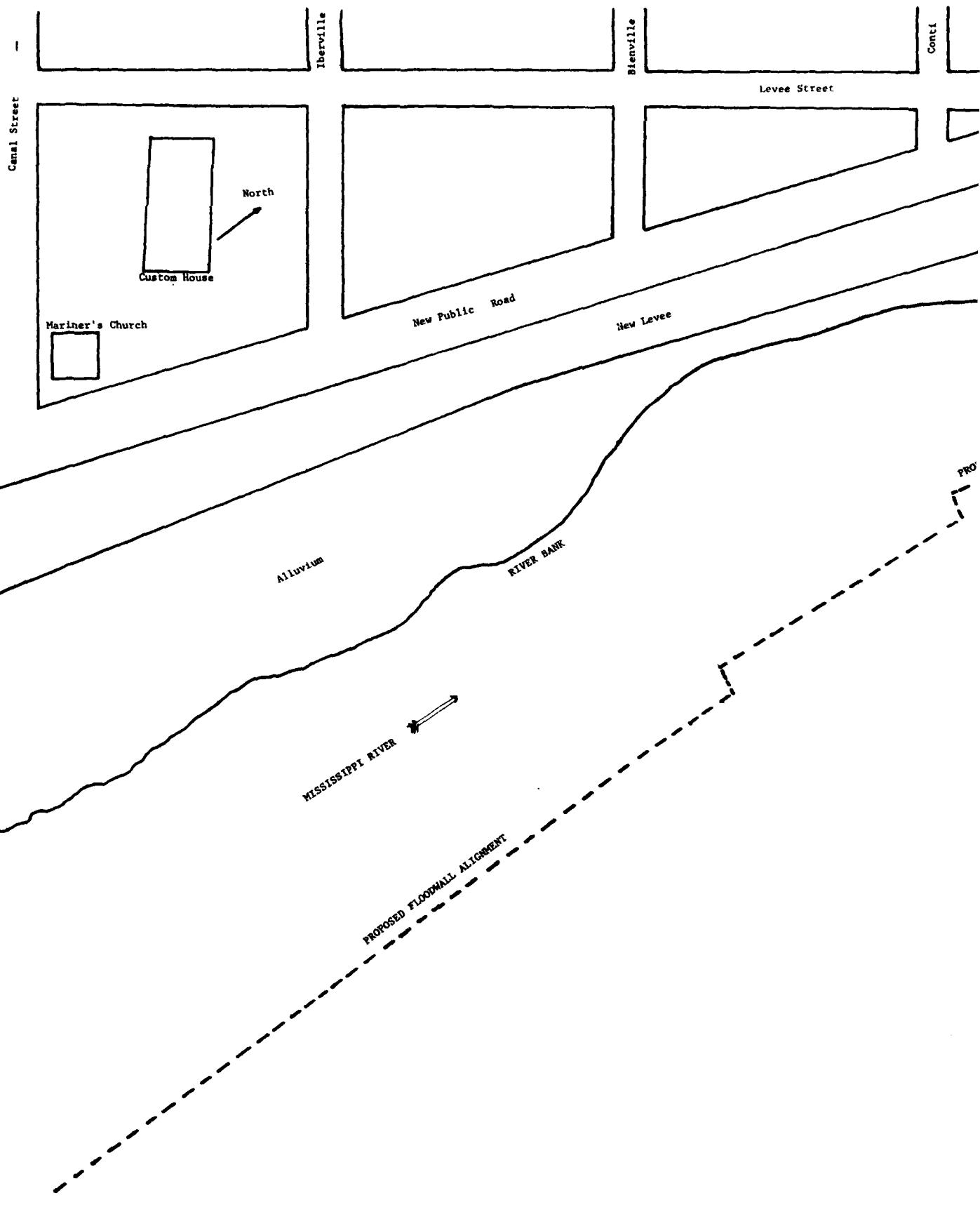
FIGURE 8
FLOODWALL SITE: 1765

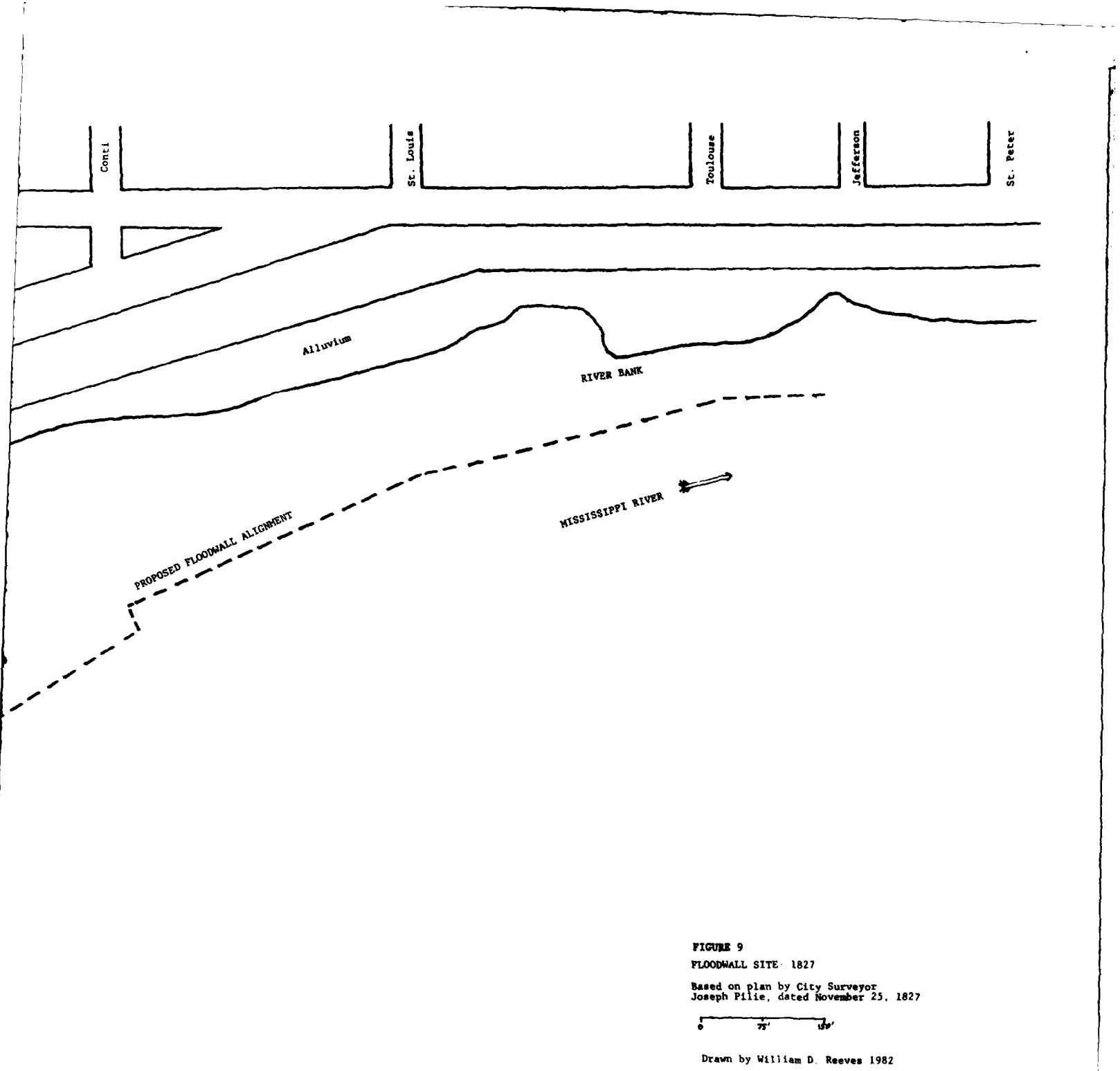
Based on Sketch annexed to
letter of Intendant Rochamore,
24 August 1760 and
Manuscript map of New Orleans,
by Lt. Philip Pittman as in
Samuel Wilson, Jr. *The Vieux
Carre New Orleans: Its Plan,
Its Growth, Its Architecture*

0 100' 150'

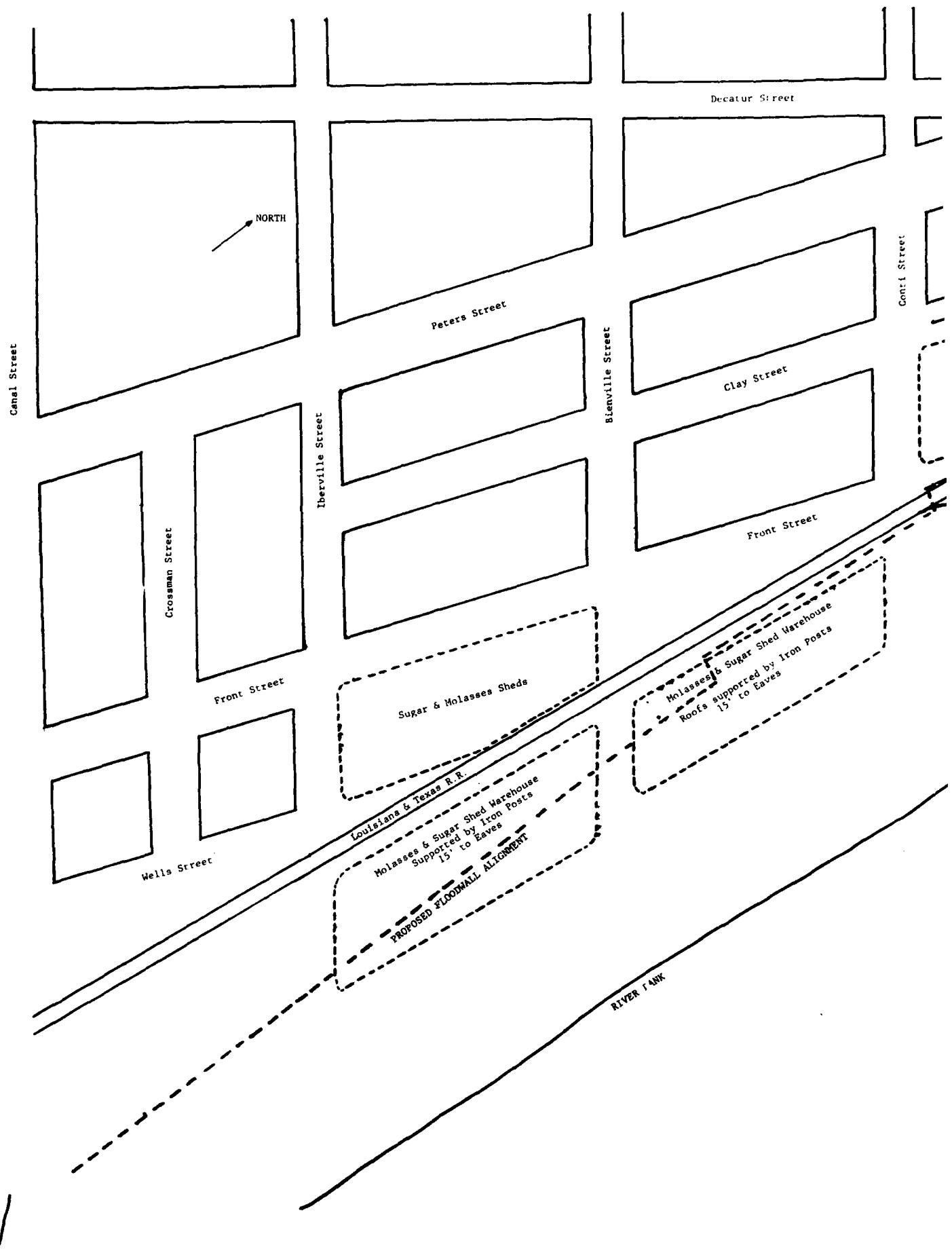
Drawn by William D. Reeves 1982

2





2



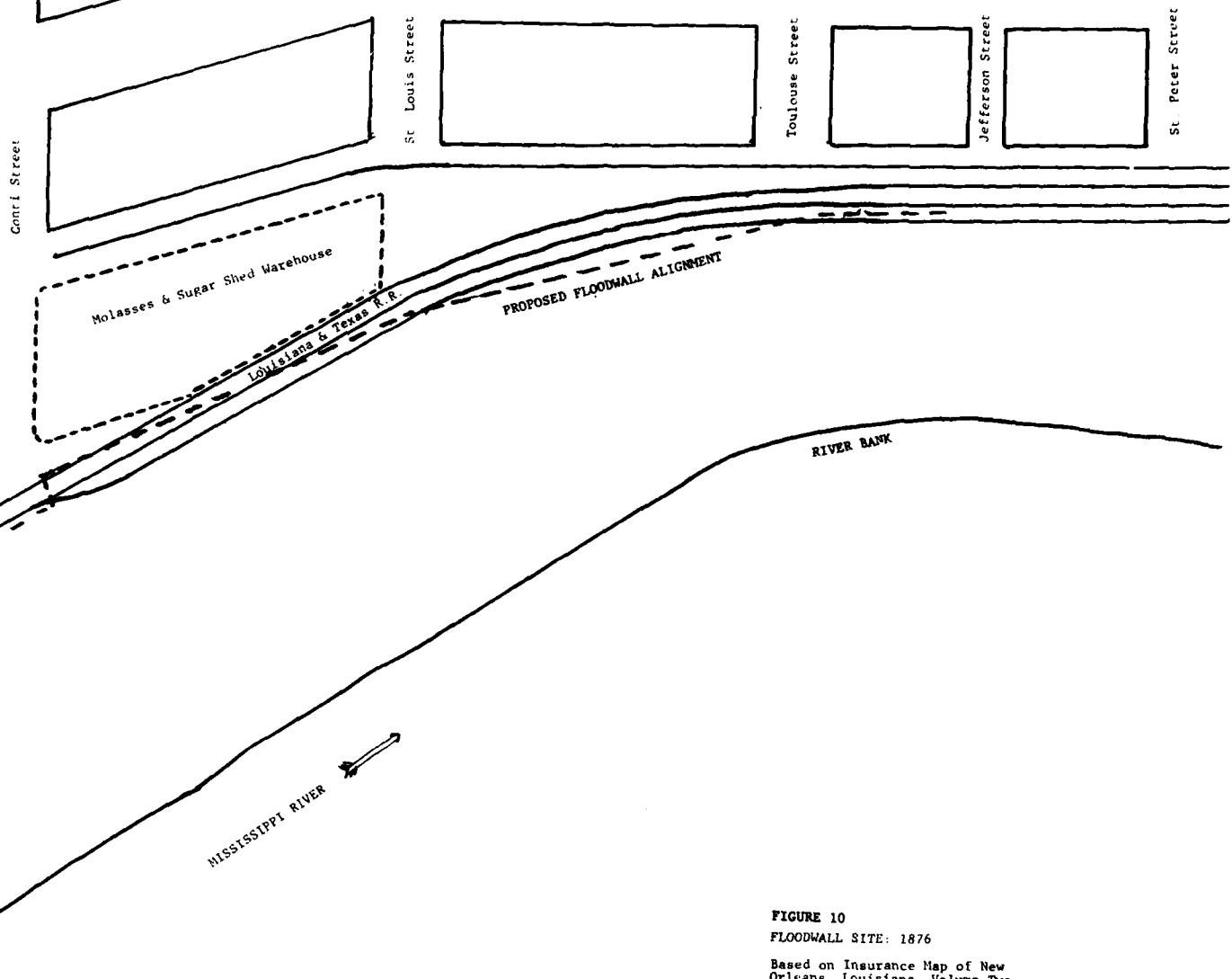


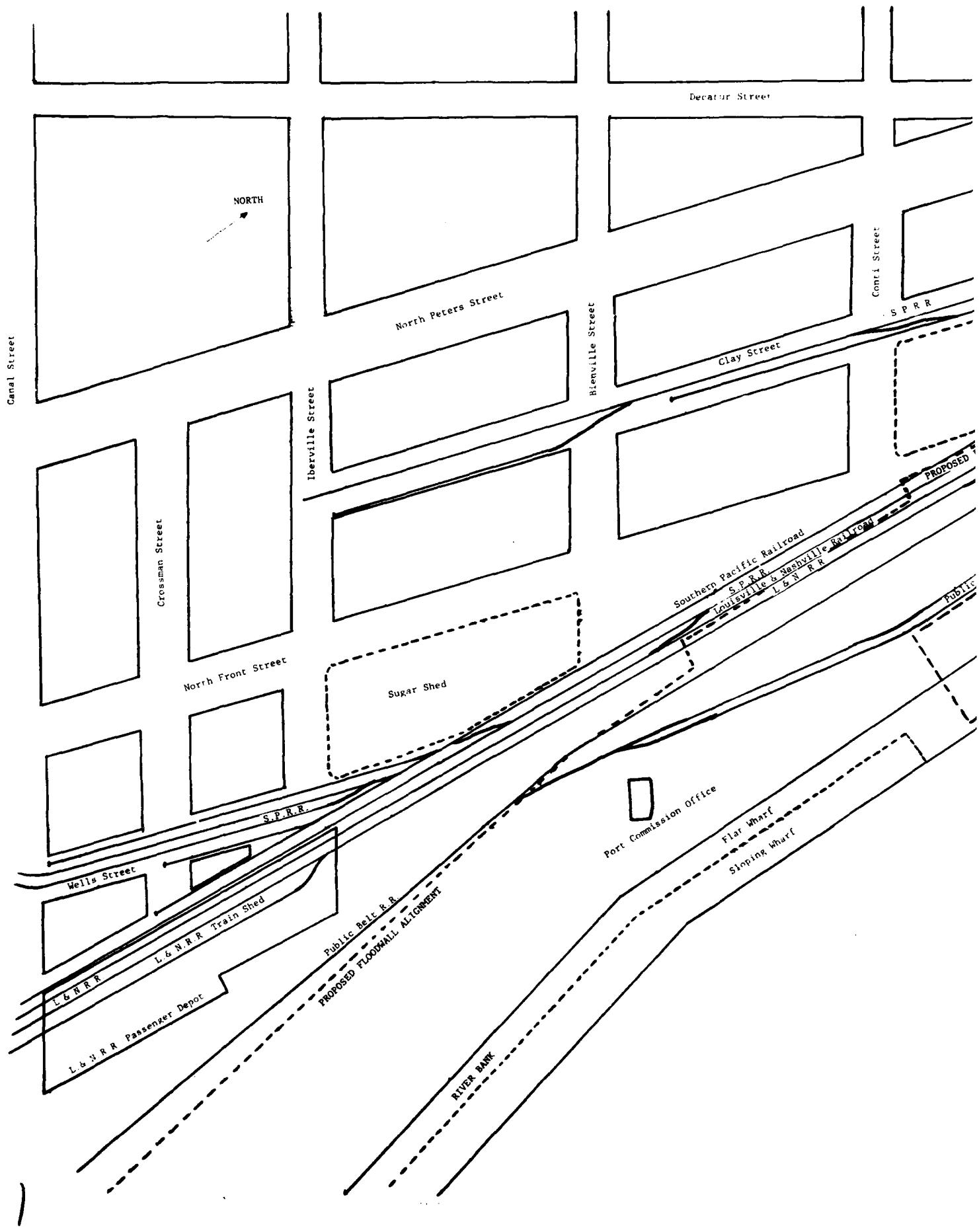
FIGURE 10
FLOODWALL SITE: 1876

Based on Insurance Map of New Orleans, Louisiana, Volume Two Sanborne Map and Publishing Co. Ltd. April, 1876

One Inch = Seventy Five Feet
0' 75' 150'

Drawn by William D. Reeves 1982

2



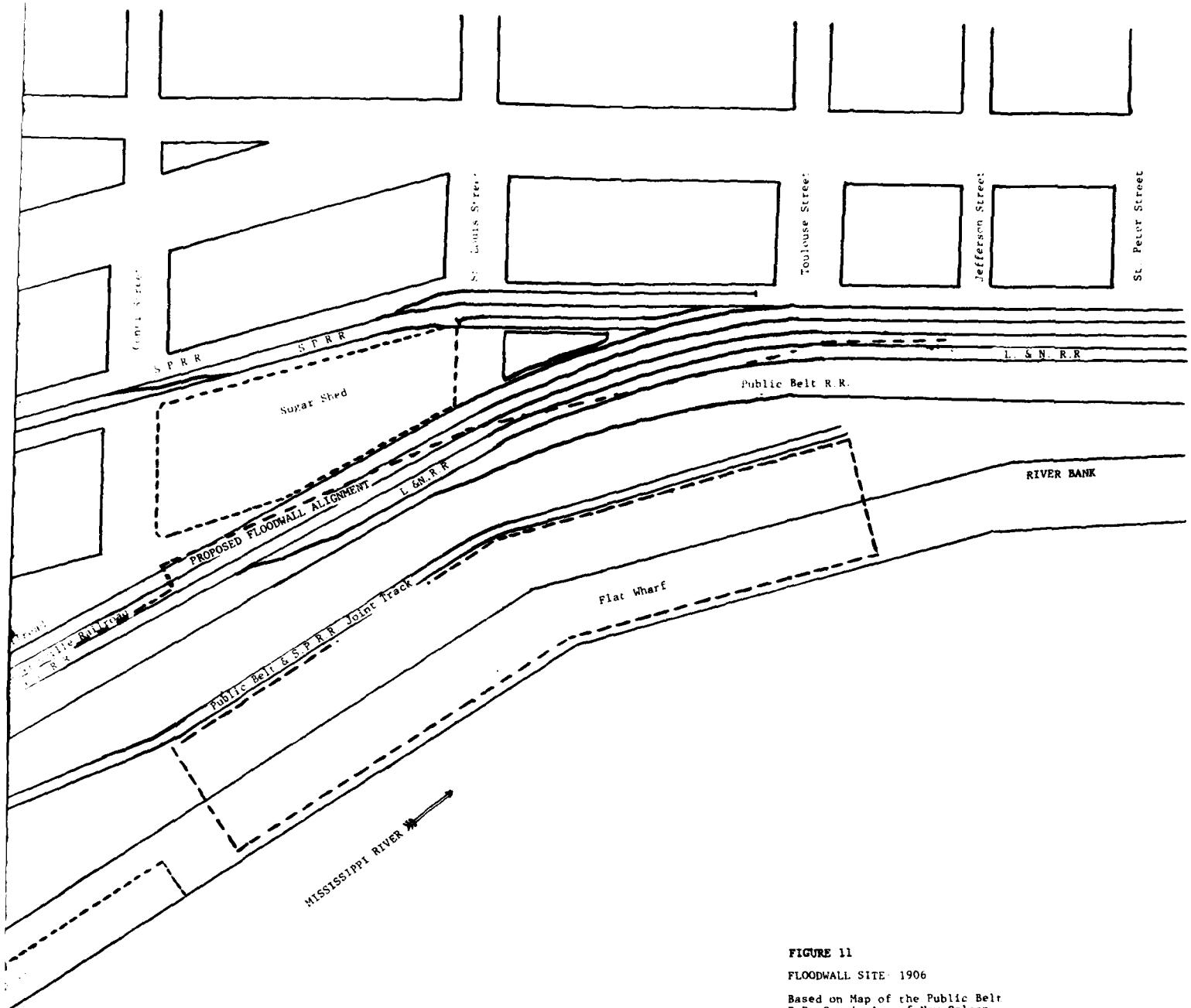
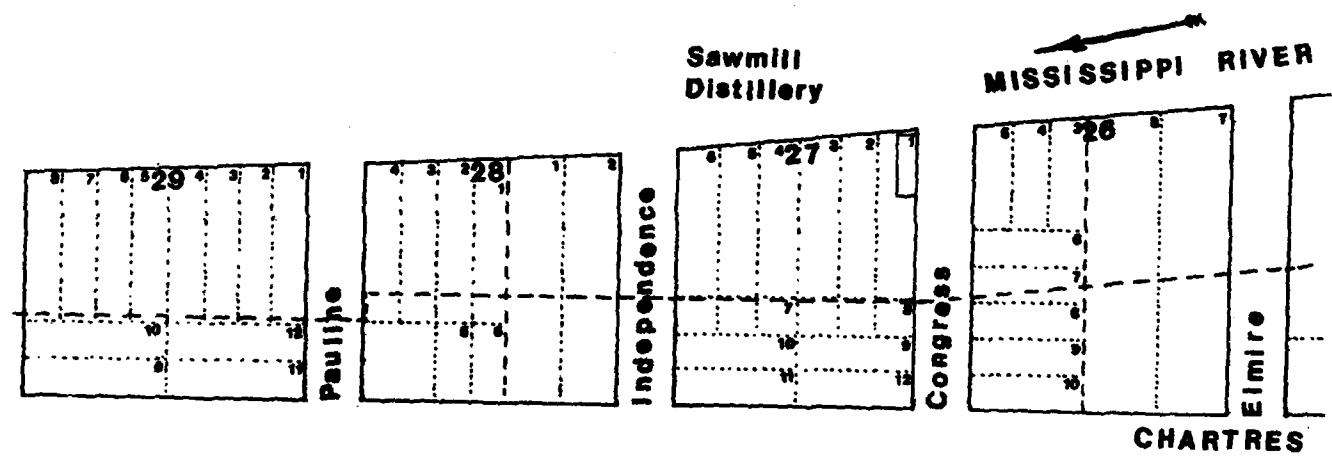
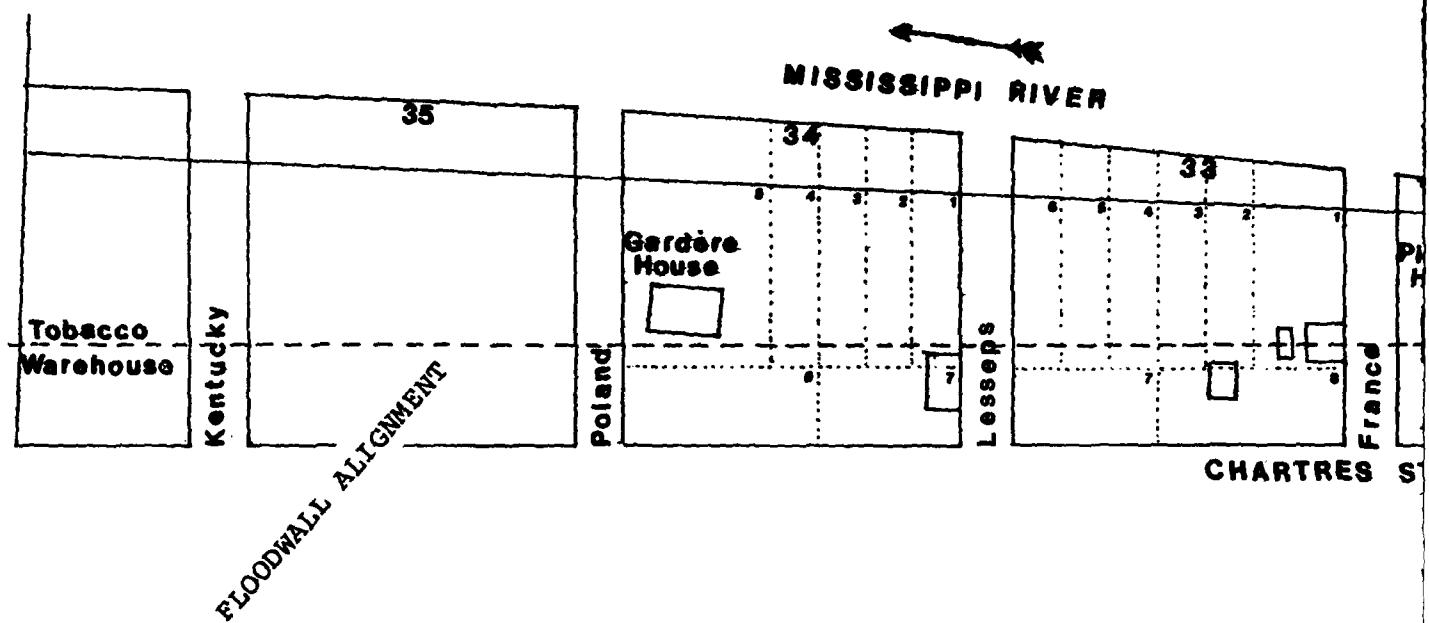


FIGURE 11
FLOODWALL SITE: 1906

Based on Map of the Public Belt
R.R. Commission of New Orleans,
La. Location of Public Belt R.R.
Hampton Reynolds, Asst. Engr in
Charge

5' 20' 150'
Drawn by William D. Reeves 1982

J



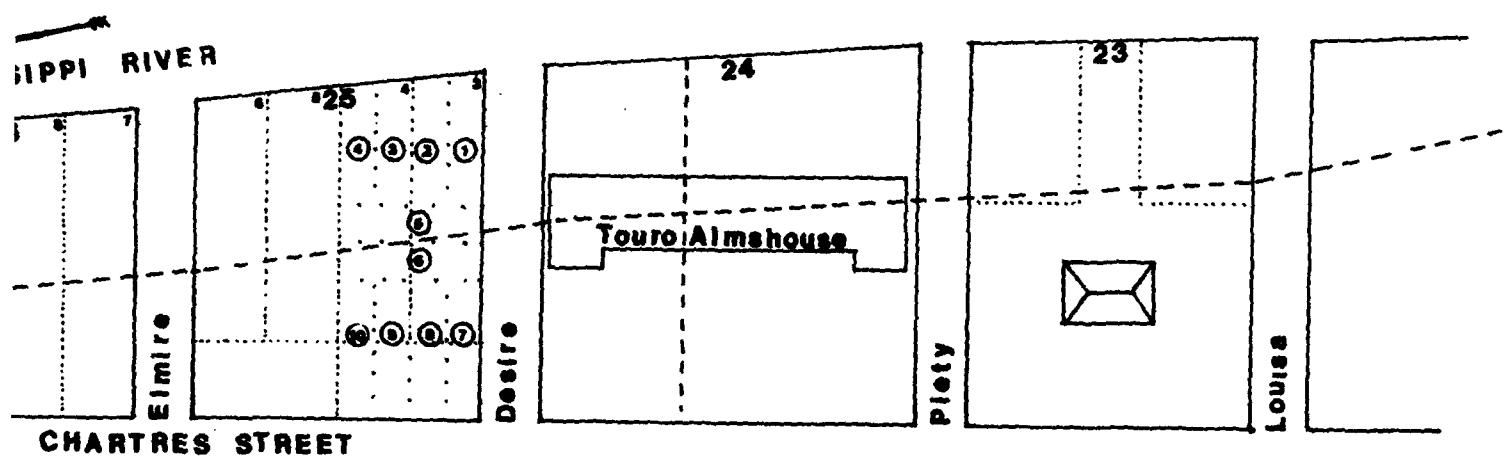
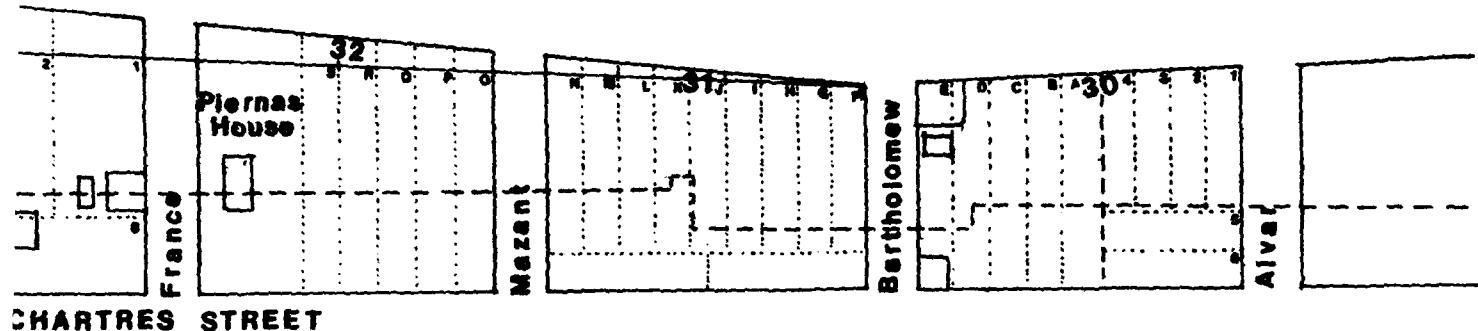


FIGURE 12

SQUARE PLAN OF THE FLOODWALL SITE
FLOODWALL, LOUISIANA TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL
New Orleans, Louisiana
For
U. S. Army Engineer District, New Orleans
by
William D. Reeves Ph. D.

Date: May 4, 1983

Contract #: DACW29-92-M-1989

NOTES

1. Samuel Wilson, Jr., "Early History," in Roulhac Toledano et al., New Orleans Architecture: The Creole Faubourgs, Gretna, 1974.
2. Pierre Pedesclaux, Notary Public, 2/12/1800, 9/6/1801. Hereafter name followed by date signifies Notary Public and the act in the New Orleans Notarial Archives.
3. Narcisse Broutin 4/29/1804. No acquisition in act.
4. Narcisse Broutin 10/29/1810; Sam Wilson; M de Armas 5/2/1820; C. Pollock 3/15/1823; F. de Armas 3/19/1836; R. Legier 4/17/1926.
5. F. de Armas 7/26/1831; Pierre Pedesclaux 6/25/1816.
6. N. Broutin 9/9/1805; Pierre Pedesclaux 2/23/1807, 10/14/1807, 10/19/1807, 11/2/1802.
7. Pierre Soule purchased land including large home, kitchen. He began a foundry later known as the New Orleans Foundery. He sold it briefly and then repurchased it. L.T. Caire 4/23/1831, 4/13/1833, 7/8/1833, 2/22/1834; F. Grima 7/9/1841. In 1841 Soule sold to Louis A. Pellerin, who sold to Joseph A. Barelli, Counsel of Portugal, in 1856.
8. Union Bank et al to Martin Leroy, Lots 1, 2. L. Herman 8/5/1841.
9. Mortgage of John Lawson Lewis to Margaret Ann Harrison. T. Seghers 2/12/1839; John Lawson Lewis to Citizens Bank, 12/11/1847 5th D.C. 23,848; Citizens Bank to Elsie Leon Bernard, C. Boudousquie 4/28/1848, 1/15/1850; Marcel T. Ducros 5/6/1880.
10. Distillery. John Brandt to Henry Foster to Wm. Watson and James McNair on 9/12/1821 (Act not found); to Peter Watson, C. Pollock 5/3/1824; to Drumond Bruce, Hugh K. Gordon 8/15/1827.
11. Pierre Pedesclaux 6/11/1805; P. Lacoste 3/12/1838.
12. F. de Armas 1/26/1828.
13. Jacques Lafort and Creditors Martin Duralde to Jean Castillanos, F. de Armas 9/25/1835 and 5/26/1835.
14. O. de Armas 5/28/1847; Will of John McDonogh.
15. Partition of Seven Arpents: 1 1/2 arpents to Marie Delphine Macarty, middle 3 arpents to L. B. Macarty, upper 2 1/2 arpents to Delphine Macarty. Marc Lafitte 10/22/1825.
16. Delphine Macarty 1 1/2 arpents to Marie Ann Azelia Zeringue, wife of Joseph Lombard, Jr., Hughes Lavergne 10/24/1825; Marie Zeringue to Joseph Lombard Sr., H. Lavergne 10/4/1826; Joseph Lombard Sr. to Joseph Lombard Jr., H. Lavergne 12/30/1826; Joseph Lombard Jr. to Philip Guesson to L. B. Macarty, Martin Duralde, and Ed Carraby, Octave de Armas 4/11/1833.
17. Actually sale was to his wife Anna Juditte Chenale, Augustin Chantalous 9/21/1756.
18. J. B. Geric 11/16/1779.
19. Fernando Rodrigues 5/29/1786.
20. Pierre Pedesclaux 11/11/1794.
21. Partage M. de Armas 5/23/1816.
22. L. B. Macarty to John Carrere, M. de Armas 5/25/1816.
23. M. de Armas 9/4/1816.
24. M. de Armas 7/29/1818.
25. G. R. Stringer 5/3/1822. Act burned.
26. Marc Lafitte 12/11/1819, 1/5/1820.
27. Pierre Pedesclaux 12/18/1794, 4/10/1795, 3/30/1798.
28. Pierre Pedesclaux 10/1/1795.
29. N. Broutin 10/4/1811; M. de Armas 1/25/1812; Exchange M. de Armas 4/28/1812.
30. Phillippe Pedesclaux 3/26/1818, 12/16/1818.
31. Marc Lafitte 3/19/1824, 11/23/1825, 3/23/1825.
32. L. T. Caire 4/8/1842.

FIGURE 13
A SCHEMATIC, CHRONOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP PLAN OF THE FLOODWALL SITE
1720 to 1860

FLOODWALL: BARRACKS TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL
New Orleans, Louisiana
For
U. S. Army Engineer District, New Orleans
by
William D. Reeves Ph. D.

Date: April 20, 1983

Contract #: DACH29-82-N-1980

**Industrial
Canal**
1720

1730 ... Coustillas ... Concession¹ ... Jonathan ... Darby¹ ...

1740

1750

Louis de Kerlerec

1760

1770

J. B. Grevembert¹⁷

1780

Pierre Marigny¹⁸

Joseph X. Pontalba

1790 ... Laurent ... Wiltz¹⁹ ...

1800 J.B. F.V.
Castillon²⁰

Charles
Leveau
Trudeau²⁷

Louis Chevalier Macarty²⁰

MARIE
FRANCOISE
CARRIERE, widow
ROBERT
MONTREUIL

DESIRE¹¹
MONTREUIL
et al

1810

JOHN
MCDONOGH

Manual
Andry

JOHN BARON²³
CHARITY HOSPITAL²⁴

22
DAVID²⁶
OLIVIER

LOUIS CHEVALLER MACARTY²¹

1820

AUGUSTIN
DUPRE³⁰

STATE OF
LOUISIANA²⁵

PARTITION¹⁸

DURALDE⁸
DONNET¹²

1830

ALEX
LESSEPS³¹

CHARLES
CHEVADRE

JOSEPH
LOMBARD¹⁶

13

1840 Ursulines

TOBACCO

LESSEPS

ALBERT

PIERRAS

LOUIS B. MACARTY

13

1850

Mme.
A. Boudoujouie³²
WIDOW
ANDRY

35

34

33

JOHN
MCDONOGH¹⁴

14

1860

36

34

33

30

29

28

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26

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1870

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28

27

26

25

1880

36

35

34

31

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29

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27

26

1890

37

36

35

32

31

30

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28

27

1900

38

37

36

33

32

31

30

29

28

1910

39

38

37

34

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32

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1920

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35

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1930

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1940

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37

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1950

43

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1960

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1970

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1980

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41

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37

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1990

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2000

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2010

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2020

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2070

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2080

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51

50

49

48

47

46

2090

57

56

55

52

51

50

49

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2100

58

57

56

Barracks

La Brassiere¹

Barby¹

Commons¹

Pierre Dreux

Joseph Claude Dubreuil

**Felicite Dubreuil
Amelot**

Villars Dubreuil

Philippe Grondel

Jacques Delachaise

Hypolite Amelot

Marie de Monleon

Bernardo da Galvez

**Gilbert Antoine
de St. Maxant**

Charles Brazeaux

Laurent Sigur

Marie L. Alarie

Pierre Marigny

Bernard Marigny

**PLAN OF FAUBOURG
MARIGNY**

Lavillebeuve

Raguet

Plauche

J. Foucher

**Francois
de
Longuail³**

**Joseph
Montegut**

**JEAN
BLANQUE**

**DELPHINE
MACARTY
BLANQUE**

**LEVEE 5
STEAM
COTTON
PRESS**

MARIE
FRANCOISE
CARRIERE, widow
ROBERT
MONTREUIL

DESIREE
MONTREUIL
et al

11

P.A.
CIVILLIAN
CITY
NEW
ORLEANS
4

SOLDIER
SACERDOTE
MANUAL
ANDRY

CITY
NEW
ORLEANS

GUILDIVRE

**FELIX
ARNAUD**

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THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE WALKING CITY

Eighteenth century cities were walking cities because the pace of a man, as well as economics, determined the city's size. The City of New Orleans was intimate by today's standards. Movement was not comfortable, and abysmal streets and ditches made walking a chore. Horseback and carriage riding was a luxury and it too was risky. As the city grew in size after the turn of the nineteenth century it developed as three cities side-by-side until the omnibus made one city out of three municipalities.

The layout and 18th century history of New Orleans, then the area now known as the Vieux Carre or French Quarter, is well told in Sam Wilson's The Vieux Carre. New Orleans: Its Plan, Its Growth, Its Architecture. The engineers who first visualized the plan of the city considered it to be a citadel, a military outpost in a hostile land. An early plan based on Vauban suggested a city set away from the river surrounded entirely by fortifications in a rough star shape.

Trade and topography intervened in the execution of such ideas and dictated that the town would face the river. The engineers did not abandon the concept of fortifications, however, but they were not built until the 1760's and then only grudgingly. Ease of commerce required people to be near the landing area, and the quay as it was called is prominently mentioned on the early plans. Topography dictated that the city be on the banks because the banks were high. The first engineer to arrive at New Orleans, Adrien de Pauger, actually moved the city closer to the river both to minimize flood waters and to secure the breezes from the river [de Pauger to Le Blond de la Tour April 14, 1721 in Wilson 1968: 11].

The French engineers also brought the French system of measure. They made two decisions of import for New Orleans--that the squares should actually be square, and

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE WALKING CITY

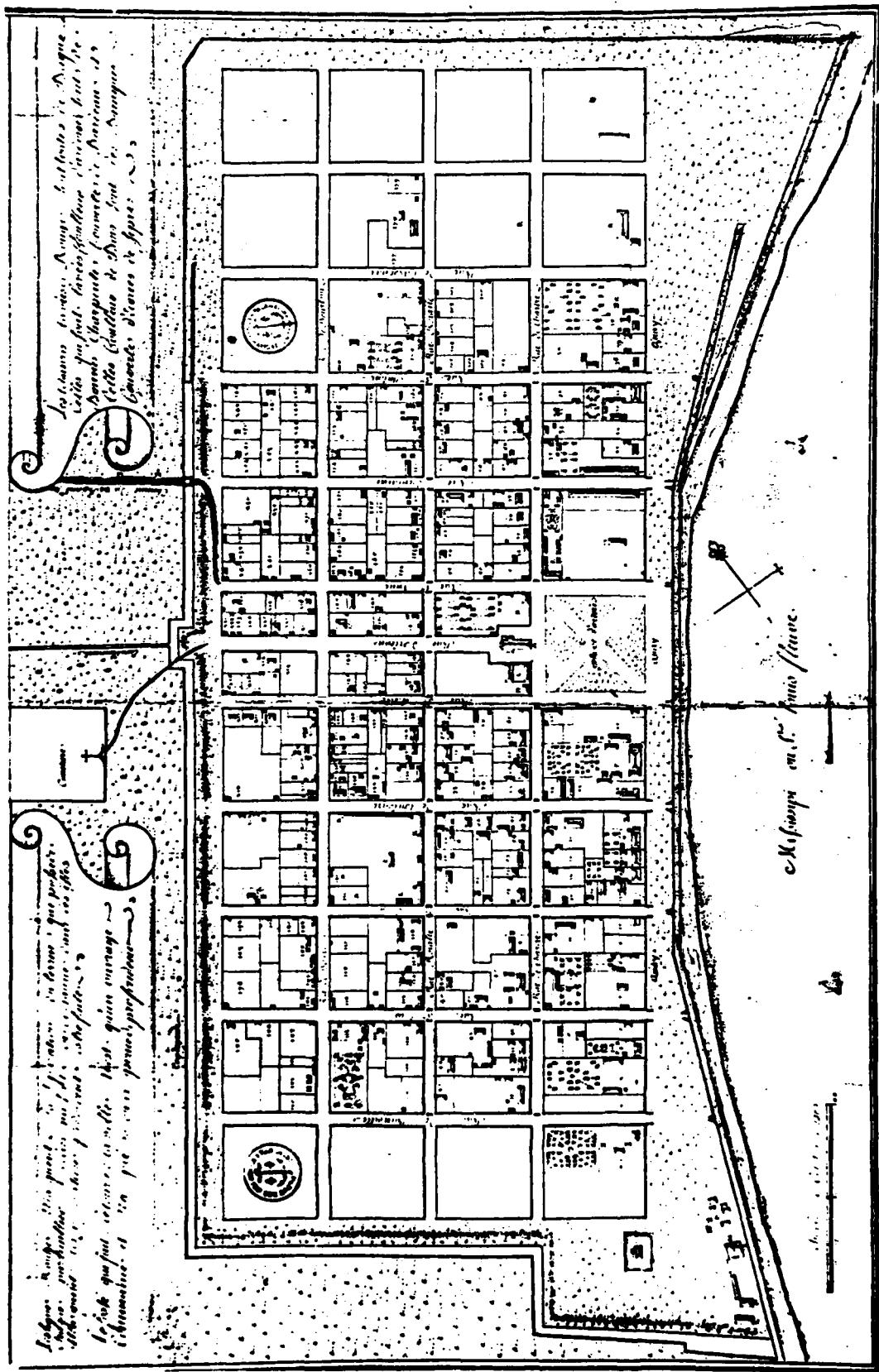


Figure 14.
Plan of New Orleans such as it was in the month of December, 1731. Gonichon.
This plan shows the Quay, sheds and mill at lower left, and the levee.
(Paris, Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer)

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE WALKING CITY

that the lots should be twice as deep as they are wide. They drew the squares with lots of 60 feet by 120 feet in French measure [F.M.], in American measure [A.M.] 63 feet 11 inches 3 lines by 127 feet 10 inches and 5 lines [Line equals 1/12th of an inch]. This measurement of depth is one of the most common measurements in a New Orleans survey. As property values have risen most of the original 60 foot F.M. lots have been divided in two of about 32 feet A.M. each.

The 60-foot lot was favored by the French because it divided evenly into a larger unit of measure--the arpent --of 180 feet [191.8 feet A.M.]. A city square of only 1 arpent was too small, so the squares were adjusted to 300 feet in length, with 60 feet left over for the side street--or a basic unit of 2 arpents. This arrangement put 5 lots facing each of the streets running parallel to the river and one "key" lot on each side street, the key lot being 60 feet wide and 150 feet deep instead of 120 feet because of the necessity of extending half way through the square. The original city contained a central square on the river, and 5 squares on each side for a width of 22 arpents and a depth of 12 arpents. Since the American foot is 1.06556 times the French foot, the typical early square was 319.67 feet A.M. The Vieux Carre was thus originally 3,900 feet F. M. in length [4,155.68 feet A.M.] by 2,100 feet F.M. in depth [2,237.67 feet A.M.].

The sixty six squares of New Orleans sufficed to contain its population throughout the 18th century. From a population of less than 1,000 in 1730 the city grew to about 8,000 at the turn of the 19th century when it acquired its first suburbs. In the plan of the city dated 1731 some 400 structures are shown spread over 32 squares owned by approximately 230 individuals.

The business of the city was government for in that year the property of the private companies that had founded New Orleans was turned over to the King. According to the map of 1731 [Fig. 14] the following are places where the laboring population worked:

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE WALKING CITY

Warehouse of the King
Forges of the King
Horse and wind mill
Shed of the Navy under which construction is done
Shed where the coopers of the Company would work
Warehouse of the Company
Warehouse for rigging and sails
Warehouse for rice
Warehouse for provisions

Of the population at large the lower classes constituted about 130 men, and the upper classes, those titled Monsieur, about 45. The town had one brewer and one miller specifically identified as the owner of a lot.

The orientation of the city was towards the river, and the principal business structures such as warehouses were on the river. Likewise, however, the major inhabitants lived along the river in the first row of squares.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE QUAY

THE QUAY

In the 18th century the components of the quay were three--the batture, the levee, and the quay proper.

The City of New Orleans was initially built close to the river to be on the natural levee created by the overflow of the river. In the delta lands of Louisiana, such natural levees represented the high land that drained comparatively well. Behind the city the land dropped into marshes as much as twelve feet below the riverbank. Spanish Commandant Francisco Bouligny observed that the decline was a regular four feet for each twenty arpents of distance from the river. [Din 1977: 45] For most of the year the river itself flowed peaceably within and well below its natural levee, but the spring rises routinely brought the river level up to the edge or beyond its natural levee. When this occurred in the first years of the City house floors and warehouses went under water, occasionally for months. The colonists quickly perceived that an artificial levee built atop the natural levee would divert the river overflow away from the city.

In 1723 resident Engineer-in-second Franquet de Chaville designed the first levee, "a magnificent levee of nearly 500 toises [3,000 feet] in length, of earth taken on the banks of the river and placed parallel to the front of the city to guarantee it from inundations...." [Wilson 1968: 15] It took 4,231 man days to build or eight months of twenty men worked on it. The men were African slaves. Within a few months of the completion of the initial levee in front of the occupied part of town the Company extended the levee as far upriver as the projected upper limits of the city.

Engineer-in-chief Adrien de Pauger expressed concern about the stability of the levee soon after its completion in 1724. "This levee will not last because the currents are eating it away. In order to make this absolutely solid it would be necessary to begin by increasing its thickness by six more feet according to the

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE QUAY

project, and to support it on the river side by a line of connected pilings....The section a little below the place where the hospital is now located [Governor Nichols Street] is still inundated because the work has failed directly in a cove where the current of the river strikes more forcefully" [Wilson 1968: 19]. It is a tribute to the insight of these French engineers that they called for pilings to protect the levee. Much of the nineteenth century was devoted to implementing this recommendation.

During the 18th century the levee probably was about three feet high and twelve to twenty feet wide. It remained quite close to the city, about 75 feet from below Conti to Dumaine, 200 feet at Bienville at the upper end, and 350 feet at Ursuline street near the lower end of the city. The plans of the city show very little movement of the river during the 1700's. Towards the end of the century the levee began to attract decorations in the form of orange trees. It was "a handsome raised gravel walk, planted with orange trees, and in the summer time served for a mall, and in an evening was always a fashionable resort for beaux and belles of the place. I have enjoyed many an evening's promenade here, admiring the serenity of the climate and the majestic appearance of this noble river" [Englishman Francis Baily in 1797 in Wilson 1968: 48]. This is the best statement of the levee as a social meeting place, the rationale behind the present-day Moon Walk and Audubon Park vista. The most attractive painting of the levee as a social spot was done by J. L. Bouqueto de Woieseri in 1803. It portrays the levee as a gravel road about thirty feet wide with gentlemen strolling, a carriage or two, and persons of color with tignons.

The quay is all that land between the levee and the town proper. Because the levee remained in one place during the 18th century, the quay did not expand. In the narrow waist of the quay [in front of the church, see Fig. 15] where it narrowed to 75 feet, the predominant use was for storage of commercial products, tar in barrels along

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE QUAY

with tobacco, and later indigo, awaiting export. Upriver the colonists built a number of structures, first the windmill with the accompanying houses for the slaves. By the 1760 the government had replaced the mill with a warehouse for shipping. In that year Governor Kerlerec constructed a wooden palisade across the front of the town, with periodic gates. The palisade did not last ten years because the population objected to the inconvenience of the having to go to the river through gates. The Intendant Vincent de Rochemore objected to the palisade because no gate was placed in front of his house. He commented that a gate "would have been of great utility to Mde. de Rochemore and to me for going walking on the levee, and to my servants for drawing water at the river bank necessary for consumption in my house." [Wilson 1968: 38]

It appears that prior to the 1770's the market for the town was held in the open air on the quay above St. Peter street. The engineer Bernard Deverges insisted on placing an opening in the new palisade opposite St. Peter in order to facilitate movement to the market. [Wilson 1968: 38] It is possible that part of this market could fall within the right of way of the floodwall in the vicinity of the Jackson Brewery.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE QUAY

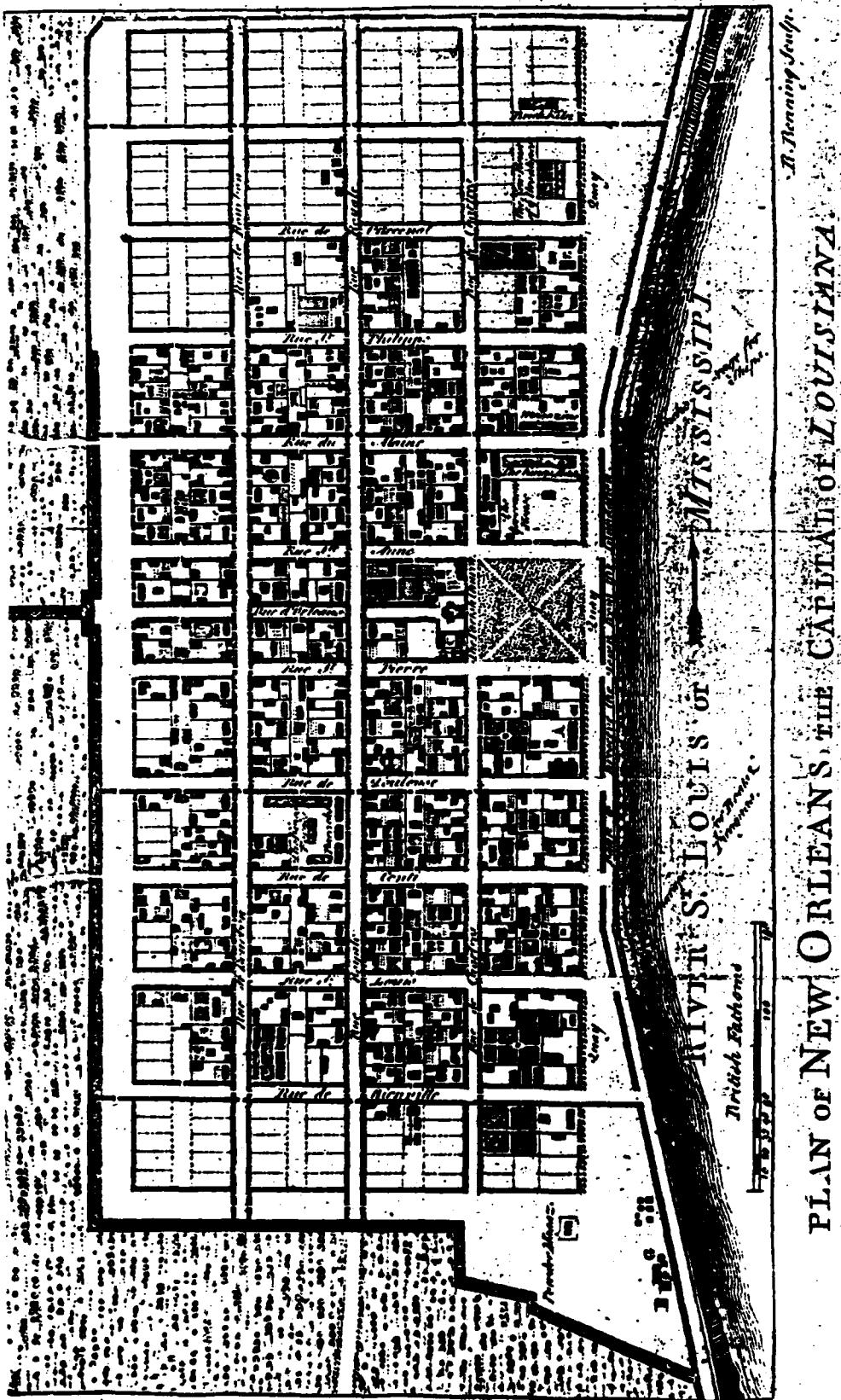


Figure 15.
Plan of New Orleans, 1761. This plan shows the quay, the new palisade across the front of the city, and the levee.
 (Courtesy, Historic New Orleans Collection, 533 Royal)

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE COMMONS

THE COMMONS

For a portion of the 18th century New Orleans acquired a commons both above and below the city. This was not a commons akin to the commons of a New England village, it was really vacant land for forts to defend the city. In 1760 Governor Kerlerec constructed a palisade and moat around part of the city, with fortified entrances at both the upper and lower ends of the city. Thirty years later Governor Carondelet rebuilt the fortifications, but they lasted only briefly.

The upper commons extended from Iberville Street to present day Common Street, which derives its name from the Commons. The first suburb of the city, Faubourg Ste. Marie, laid out in 1788, began at Common Street and extended upriver. The commons, in spite of their name, were granted to various individuals during the last years of the Spanish regime. Elisha Winter, a U. S. citizen, came to New Orleans in 1791 and built the city's first ropewalk on a piece of land just upriver from Iberville Street 100 feet by 600 feet granted for that purpose by Governor Hector Carondelet. Ropewalks manufacture rope and are essential to viable seaports. Unfortunately the ropewalk was destroyed by fire about 1797 [American State Papers II:310, 336; III:170].

Below the city a similar commons existed for a brief period in the early 18th century. It extended for about 500 feet downriver from Barracks Street and was to be the site of a fort to be called Fort St. Charles. However in the 1740's the noted contractor Villars Dubreuil requested and received permission to attach it to his adjoining five arpent plantation. In 1760 Governor Kerlerec approved a plan setting the limit of the city at 20 toises (120' F.M.) below the barracks, thus by implication ratifying Dubreuil's claim. In 1794 Governor Carondelet rebuilt the Fort St. Charles, and encroached on the Dubreuil plantation, then owned by Laurent Sigur. When the American Government was asked to ratify Sigur's claim, the Commissioners ruled the Commons belonged to the City [ASA II:347-8].

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

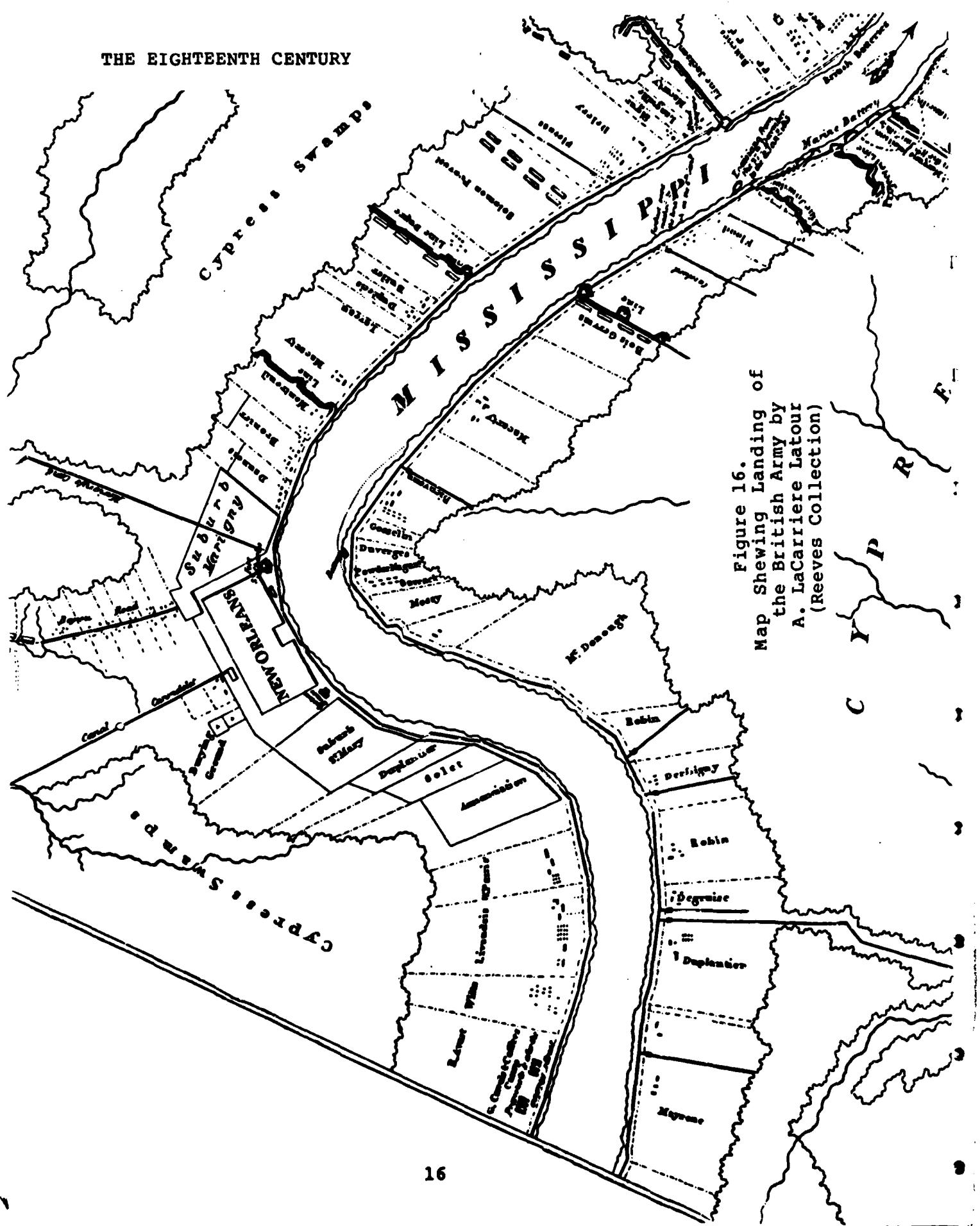


Figure 16.
Map Shewing Landing of
the British Army by
A. LaCarriere Latour
(Reeves Collection)

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PLANTATIONS

All land ownership adjacent to the floodwall alignments evolved from grants that the Company of the Indies or its local agents made in the 1720's. Governor Bienville initially owned all of the land above the city, but in the 1720's he granted a portion to the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) and by the 1740's the Jesuits owned 32 arpents immediately above New Orleans. Above them were a series of small plantations. Below the city were the lands claimed by Dubreuil, the Braissarie, a large concession granted to Jonathas Darby and then one known as the Coustillas concession.

The most common feature of New Orleans plantations was the ease with which they changed ownership. The brasserie changed hands thirteen times between 1720 and 1810. Plantation ownership was the best investment and virtually the only investment in the colony. It was common to buy one, sell it a few years later, buy another one up or down river, then sell it. Owners moved from place to place, and it is extremely rare to find a plantation that remained in one family for 50 years. Parts of the large Livaudais plantation between Louisiana and Jackson remained in the family for more than a half a century, but the edges were sold and rebought several times. The Macarty's held a few arpents of their downriver plantation from 1794 to 1847 and the Saulet family kept their plantation from 1763 to its subdivision in 1810, and afterwards held many of the lots for another 40 years [See the Schematic Ownership plans following the Introduction for details and citations].

Ownership evolved initially out of a few large concessions granted by the Governor or the Company of the Indies. Subsequently the plantations were gradually divided and sold, a pattern that occurred slowly in the 18th century, and rapidly in the first 30 years of the 19th century. Ownership has been traced in the records of the New Orleans Notarial Archives. For the French period the records have almost completely disappeared, for the Spanish period they

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

are about 90 per cent complete.

The availability of transportation is essential to the success of any commercial agricultural system. This factor dictated the placement of plantations along the waterways, the Mississippi being the premier waterway. Reinforcing the preoccupation with riverfrontage was the need for high ground. High ground was only found along the natural river levees. Thus demand for river frontage led to the shape of rural landholding in the form of narrow rectangles, with the small side abutting the river, and averaging less than 10 arpents in width. The depth was normally 40 arpents, but the lands of the Jesuits were 50 arpents deep, and later extended to Bayou St. John. Frequently an owner petitioned for a second 40 arpents depth, making a plantation of 80 arpents depth. An average plantation of 10 by 40 arpents would contain 400 superficial arpents or 340 acres. Generally only the front half of the plantation would be cultivated, the rear being reserved for pasturage and timber.

THE LIVAUDAIS PLANTATION

The family most associated with the Garden District of New Orleans was that of the Livaudais. At one time or another the family owned all the land from Toledano to Race Street, one and seven-tenths miles, or forty seven arpents. They shaped the plans for three of the uptown faubourgs, Annunciation, Lacourse, and Nuns, and their principal plantation became the heart of the town of Lafayette.

Jacques Enoul Livaudais came to New Orleans from St. Malo, France in the 1720's. He was a man of the sea from the northwestern French port associated for generations with dashing captains, fishing, and privateering. He married Marie Genovieve Babin, the daughter of Pierre Babin of Brittany and Francisca Talot of Montreal, Canada, and Marie Babin bore him eighteen children [Will of Maria Genovieve Babin, Broutin:3/3/1801; Will of Diego Enoul Livaudais, Almonaster: 4/29/1773]. He quickly acquired wealth in New

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

Orleans, and owned a house in town at the corner of Bienville and Royal, as well as a six arpent plantation above New Orleans and an eight arpent plantation across the river.

In the early 1730's Jacques Livaudais became Captain of the Port with the responsibility for the handling of ships across the bars at the passes, soundings of the river, and maintenance of the post at the Belize. Each of the three most important Governors of Louisiana during the French period commended him in the highest terms. Bienville wrote in 1736, "I cannot forget to express to my lord how well pleased I am with Sieur Livaudais, the captain of the port, whom I had asked of Mr. Salmon to make an inspection of our boats and of the preservation of our provisions. He took a great deal of pains in the bad weather and showed ability on the occasion. He is an active, vigilant and very intelligent officer" [Rowland and Sanders 1932:689]. Governor Vaudreuil noted that Livaudais and the chief engineer, Bernard Deverges, inspected the Belize each year, and that Livaudais "has been precise in making soundings of the passes and reported perfectly on the best entries for ships. . . ." [Barron 1975:240].

Undoubtedly one of the concluding events in his career was the mission on which Governor Kerlerec dispatched him in 1760. As captain of the Opale he was to buy gunpowder in Vera Cruz and return to New Orleans. This was the height of the Seven Years War, and naturally English ships were on the high seas seeking to prevent the French from acquiring munitions. On the return trip the Opale met an English frigate of sixty guns near Cape San Antonio, Cuba. The English frigate gave chase across the Gulf, with the Opale just staying ahead. Night fell just as the ships reached the mouth of the Mississippi, and both ships had to heave to to wait the coming of the light, the Opale to enter the river and the English to bombard the Opale before it could get in the passes. So Captain Livaudais sent out a boat and placed lanterns on several of the bouys, and conducted his ship

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

over the bar at night, an unprecedented event [Villiers du Terrage 1982:129]. Before his death about 1773 he was named a Knight of the Order of St. Louis.

While the elder Livaudais was a man of the sea, his son and namesake stayed on land. Jacques Livaudais Jr. was born in 1735 and married Charlotte Chauvin de Lery des Islets in 1763 [Arthur 1931: 22] of the Chauvin family that had established itself along the upriver Tchoupitoulas coast in 1719. Governor Kerlerec commissioned Livaudais Jr. a second ensign in 1754 at the age of 19, noting that he was "highly motivated, very precise in the execution of his duties, and willing to learn" [Villiers du Terrage 1982:114]. Under the Spanish regime Livaudais was appointed Commandant of the Tchoupitoulas coast, a post he held for about thirty years. He also served for years on the Cabildo, the governing council of Louisiana.

In the early years of the Spanish regime the second generation of the Livaudais acquired several plantations. In March of 1769 Jacques Livaudais Jr. purchased the principal plantation in the Garden District from Augustin Chantalou. Five years later his brother Francisco Enoul Livaudais purchased another one of eleven and half arpents slightly further upriver. Two years later (1776) Jacques Livaudais Jr. purchased an eight arpent plantation just down river from his principal plantation, but soon sold five arpents of it to the Ursuline Nuns who held it until 1810 [For citations see attached schematic plans]. By 1771 Jacques Livaudais Jr. owned the fifteen arpent plantation just below the Destrehan's in St. Charles Parish, and by 1788 he was leasing another farm for one sixth of the net revenue [Conrad 1974:69 ff].

The plantation most closely associated with the Livaudais name and family was purchased in 1769. At the time Jacques Livaudais Jr. was an inactive military officer receiving only half pay. He purchased the plantation from Augustin Chantalou, a Royal Notary and Chief Secretary of

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

the Council (Chantalou bought from LeMarquis). Chantalou might very well have learned that a large Spanish army was being prepared to seize Louisiana from a rebellious Council and decided to dispose of some property. The Spanish government indeed took possession of Louisiana the year that Chantalou sold to Livaudais, 1769 [Dart 1938: 674-676].

The plantation grew indigo and consisted of eleven and a half arpents front on the river by forty arpents in depth. It had a residence, at which Livaudais declared he would live, and the sale included twenty-five slaves, one hundred barrels of corn, and tools, all for 45,000 livres.

Livaudais purchased the plantation on terms, putting down only 4,705 livres, or just over ten percent of the cost. He was to pay the balance in indigo each year between November 1 and 8 at the rate of 2,000 lbs. for 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772. In 1773 he was to pay 984 lbs. of indigo for the balance, and thus was to pay out the debt in four years. Each pound of indigo was valued for this transaction at 4.5 livres. Curiously, in spite of the very specific payment schedule, fully eleven years later Livaudais had paid only 26,000 livres of the debt, something over half. This suggests that the vendor was rather relaxed in demanding payment, and that the indigo crop was poor.

Indigo growing was limited to the largest planters since the initial capital investment was large. The first successful crop was grown in 1724 and amounted to 3,000 lbs. During the 1770's Louisiana planters produced between 400,000 and 600,000 lbs. per year. Figuring that Livaudais's purchase price was calculated to be fifty percent of his crop, a crop of 4,000 lbs. would amount to one per cent of Louisiana output. His price was somewhat lower than the average price of the period [Clark 1970:187]. One slave could cultivate about 2 acres of indigo, and two acres yielded about 150 lbs. of the crop. At 5 livres per lbs, a slave produced about 750 livres per year, approximately his initial cost [Holmes 1967:329-349].

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

Indigo was allowed to grow till it reached 2 1/2 feet in height, cut in the early morning and brought immediately to the indigo works. There the plants were placed in an upper vat and weighed down as water was added. A fermentation process commences and within 10 to 14 hours frothy bubbles rise to the surface, white, grayish blue, purple, and finally copper colored. After the fermentation subsides, the liquid is drawn off to a lower vat and the steeped plants are taken out to be used as fuel.

In the lower vat men begin to agitate the liquid, beating and stirring, till the indigo begins to appear as small particles, about one and a half hours. At this point the beating is stopped and the vat left for the indigo to settle out. The water is then drained off and the indigo is strained in sacks, spread out on boards to dry, cut in squares, and placed in barrels. A more elaborate alternative step is to take the indigo from vat two and place it in another vat with water and boil for several hours. From here the indigo is placed in a dripping vat, a wooden case with its floor perforated with holes and covered with woolen cloth. This case provides the first shaping for the indigo after which it is dried and cut [Bossu 1771:I, 375; New American Cyclopedie 1860:IX,499].

Another contemporary description of a indigo plantation just upriver from the Livaudais's lists the following equipment: a barrel of tar, half a barrel of pitch, six caulkers, three mallets, thirty pounds of oakum, six large containers for indigo with their iron hoops, one hundred sacks for straining the indigo, two indigo strainers, four pairs of straps, three stretchers, thiry good, new hoes, and eighteen small ones, thirty knives to cut the indigo, one trowel, a large new grindstone complete with handle and cotter, a smaller one also with handle, a furbished plow, two wagons, two tumbrels, good and bad, one two-wheeled carriage for hauling logs with its wheels, another one without wheels, a pair of wheels for a horse

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wagon, thirty-five iron pintles for both the indigo vats and the plows and wagons, two harnesses for horses, two large leather straps, two light bridle bits, one wrench, two six-foot framing saws, eighty chests for indigo, a coulter for staking, another one for rabbeting shingles, a large vat for the animals, two silver cups for indigo, forty pounds of nails of different sizes, one sprinkler, a measuring barrel, thirty brazas [fathom--66 inches] of new rope of twenty-one threads [Juan Garic N.P.:8/16/1771].

Jacques Livaudais Jr. served as the Commandant for the Upper Suburbs of New Orleans for a long period of time extending from the 1770s to past 1807. He was reputed to be the richest man of his day in Louisiana, and played host to the Duc d'Orleans, later Louis Philippe, King of France, and his two brothers in 1798. He died in 1816 [Padgett, 675732; New Orleans Public Library, Old Inventories]. His younger brother, Joseph Enoul Livaudais Dugue, survived him and was executor of his estate. Joseph lived across the river and raised three sons and a daughter [Zeringue v. Harang's Administrator, 17 La. 349; Will of Maria Genovieve Babin, Broutin: 3/3/1801].

Jacques Livaudais Jr.'s only son was Jacques Francois Enoul de Livaudais, president of the Louisiana state senate and longtime judge of Jefferson Parish. Born about 1772, he signed a marriage contract on November 1797 and married Marie Celeste de Marigny de Mandeville, daughter of Pierre Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville. This was considered one of the most brilliant marriages of the period. [Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 30, p. 659]. Jacques Francois died on April 9, 1850.

Jacques Francois' cousin was Jacques Philippe Enoul Dugue Livaudais [1779-1836, wife--Rose Victoire Voisin]. The Cabildo elected him Petty Judge for the West Bank on Jan. 7, 1803. He served with his brother in the Volunteers of the Mississippi regiment of the Louisiana militia [Holmes 1965: 203]. His brother was Francisco Joseph Enoul Livaudais, born c. 1776, who married Jeanne Marguerite

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

Caroline Eulalie Phegres [Marc Lafitte N.P.:7/7/1818]

About the time Jacques Francois married Marie Celeste de Marigny [1797] Jacques Livaudais Jr. turned over control of most of the large plantation to his son. [This act has not been found.] In 1806 Livaudais Jr., now 71 years of age, sold the remainder of the principal plantation to his son for \$10,000 [Pedesclaux N.P.:8/5/1806]. This consisted of three arpents twenty-three toises with a depth of eighty arpents, and was bounded on both sides by the lands of his son. Because of this location and the generally poor descriptions, it is impossible to locate the exact site of the old man's plantation dwelling. The father reserved to himself the right to live in the plantation for his lifetime. Nine years later, however, Jacques Francois sold the lands back to his father in an act passed at the plantation because the father was not well. He also sold back his rights to forty-two slaves, and the explanation was that the son was even sicker than the father and needed money [Marc Lafitte N.P.:10/25/1815; 11/29/1815].

Part of the reason for the money shortage may lie in other speculations undertaken by Livaudais. In 1810 Joseph De Ville Desgoutin Bellechasse purchased the Ursuline's plantation, but in January, 1814 he sold the major portion to Jacques Francois Livaudais for \$40,000, who agreed to sell it off in lots. Livaudais evidently did nothing, for in August of 1814 Bellechasse ran an auction of lots that collected about \$26,000. Bellechasse left soon thereafter for Cuba, with Livaudais still owing him \$14,000. Four years later the note was finally paid when Livaudais sold the remaining lots back to Bellechasse for \$14,000, who then auctioned the remainder [Pedesclaux N.P.:1/20/1814; Marc Lafitte N.P.:3/19/1818].

Just a month after Livaudais purchased the balance of the main plantation from his father in August of 1806 he bought an eleven and a half arpent plantation from Bernard Marigny just below the Faubourg Nuns, the home of the

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

Ursulines. As early as 1793 the Marigny's had estimated this plantation as worth twice what their downriver plantation was worth [Will of Pierre Marigny 11/8/1793, in Carlos Ximenes N.P. Vol 14, p. 346]. Livaudais' wife, Marie Celeste de Marigny, was one of the two heirs of her brother, who owned this valuable land, but since the plantation buildings were at one end of the property, partition in kind, the normal process, was not feasible, so Livaudais purchased the entire tract for \$50,000. The principal house was raised on walls of brick [Will of Jeanne Marie Destrehan, Pedesclaux N.P.:4/13/1798] and survived well into the 19th century. Six months later he sold the lower half to his friend Robin de Logny for \$70,000, who named it Faubourg Lacourse, while Livaudais retained the upper half, to which he added part of the Ursuline's which he acquired after 1810. This he called Faubourg Annunciation [Broutin N.P.:9/11/1806; Pedesclaux N.P.:5/12/1807].

As the new century turned Jacques Enoul Dugue Livaudais' plantation had expanded to sixteen arpents and began about two miles above New Orleans. It was now planted in sugar. In 1805 Livaudais added three arpents purchased from Joseph Wiltz, his upriver neighbor, for \$6,000 cash [Pierre Pedesclaux N.P.:5/2/05].

The earliest map found of this stretch of the river showing the Livaudais plantation was prepared by Major A. La Carriere Latour in 1815, titled "Map Shewing the Landing of the British Army...." [Fig. 16] This delineation of the senior Livaudais plantation the year before the owner's death shows a prosperous establishment with sixteen slave cabins, a main house, detached kitchen and various other outbuildings. None of these structures appear to be close enough to the river to abut the floodwall right-of-way.

At Livaudais' death in 1816 his small plantation was put on the auction block and sold to his grandnephews, who quickly sold to his son Jacques Francois Enoul Livaudais. Even though he had granted most of his property

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

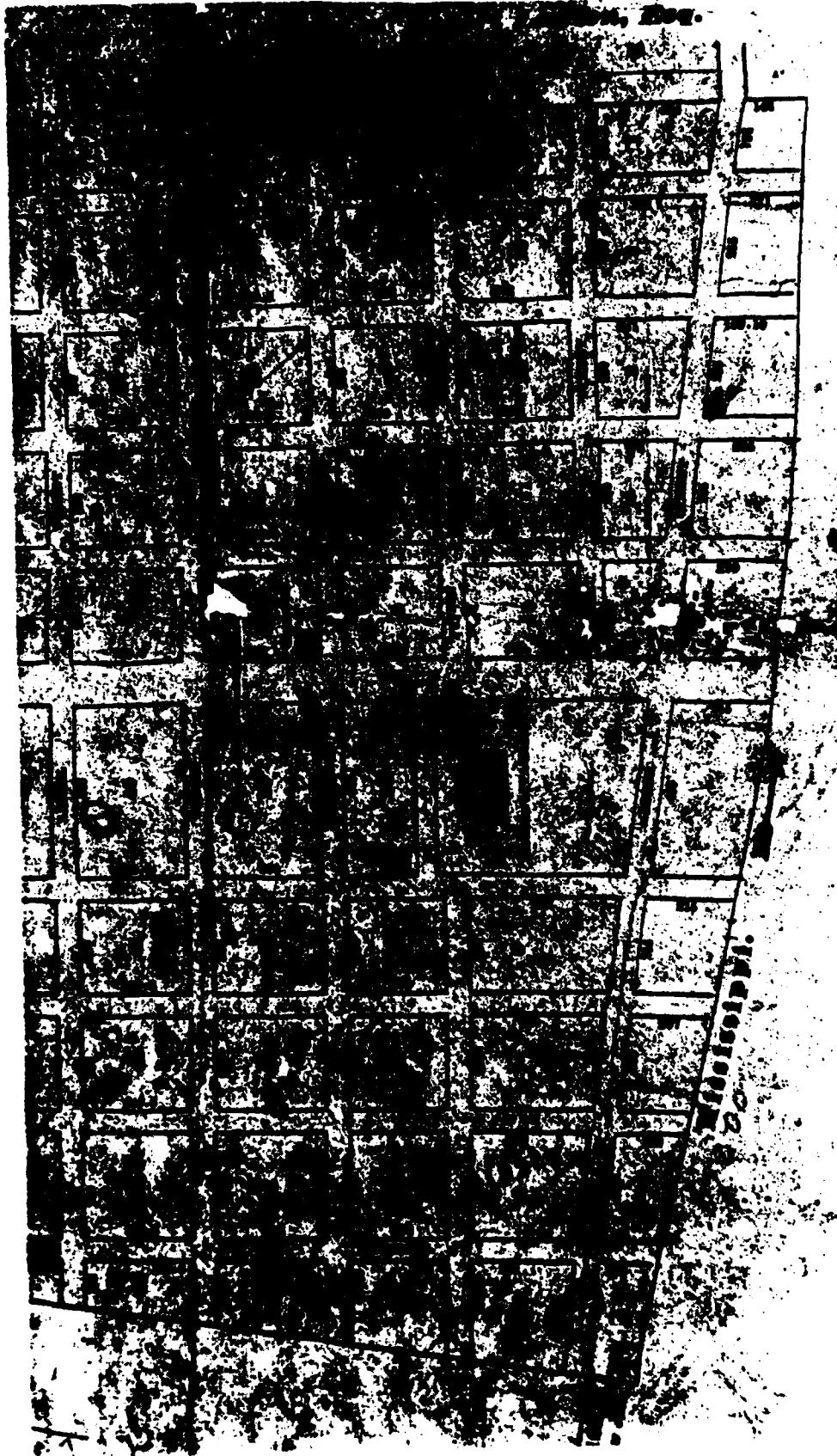


Figure 17.
First Plan of the Subdivision of the Livaudais Plantation by
Benjamin Buisson, 3/5/1832. This plan shows the saw mill
just upriver on the batture, squares 14 to 5, and the Layton
ropewalk below the Plantation. The house shown on the Plan
is the new Livaudais home begun in 1818 after the entire
plantation had been reacquired by Jacques Francois Livaudais.
(Courtesy Tulane University Library)

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

already to Jacques Francois, his inventory still showed him worth \$61,000. The house included much fine furniture, large mirrors, a violin, barometer, only 100 bottles of wine, 45 slaves, silver that required the special estimating skills of Pierre LaMothe and Stanislas St. Cyr. In addition, he owned two town houses, one on Hospital near Rampart of 4 rooms, 2 cabinet, with gallery and 2 caves and kitchen, as well as a house on St. Philip [Marc Lafitte N.P.:1/15/1817].

In 1822 Jacques Livaudais disposed of his upper three arpents (from today's Toledano St. to Harmony), retaining a portion of the uppermost arpent. The sale did include all of the batture in front of the three arpents. The buyer was Guy Duplantier, who had a verbal agreement with Valery Jean Delassize and the widow of Louis Avart to operate a brickyard on the site [Marc Lafitte N.P.:12/30/22]. Present research has not positively located the brickyard, and it is unclear whether it lies in the floodwall right-of-way.

In 1825 Duplantier sold his interest in the brickmaking company to Widow Avart and Delassize [Phillipe Pedesclaux N.P.: 1/20/25]. The following year Livaudais sold the retained portion of the uppermost arpent to Valery Jean Delassize, who apparently lived there. This property remained intact until 1842 when it was subdivided by Benjamin Buisson (7/24/42). The Buisson plan shows a plantation house with gardens in front, all between Chippewa and Jersey Streets in the slice of land behind Square 16, bounded by Toledano and Pleasant (Plan book 11, folio 13). This is not in the right-of-way.

About 1818 Jacques Livaudais and his wife began construction of an elaborate new home in the middle of their plantation [See Fig. 17]. His father had died the previous year at the old home at the age of 82, it was now possible to make a new start. It was located in the present square bounded by Washington and Sixth, Tchoupitoulas and Fulton, facing the river but set back. Work on the house progressed slowly. During that time the marriage of over twenty years

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

evidently gradually crumbled. The house was never finished and ended up as an empty curiosity in the neighborhood, the "haunted house" of Lafayette.

The Succession of Marie Therese Livaudais, free woman of color, hints at a possible cause for the Livaudais' marriage demise. At Ms. Livaudais' death in 1836 she owned a lot in faubourg Annunciation which she acquired from Jacques Francois Enoul Livaudais on September 17, 1818 [Old Inventories, NOPL, vol. L, 1833-38]. Marie Therese Livaudais had four minor children with a surname different from her own.

City inventories yield yet another inventory that suggests a sadder story. In 1819 Jacques Francois reported that his son Charles Octave Livaudais was missing, and requested an inventory of his estate. Charles Octave resided at a house at the corner of Ursulines and Treme belonging to Rita Lugar, femme de couleur libre, in an area known for miscegenetic households. Among the items in the inventory were a porcelaine service, twelve covers of silver, and a pair of dueling swords.

With the present information it is not possible to determine what prompted Madame Livaudais to abandon her husband, but on June 28, 1825, represented by her attorney Etienne Mazureaux, she won a judgment of separation made final on December 5, 1825 after Livaudais refused to appear or respond. The court awarded the plantation to Madame Livaudais. It was described as a sugar plantation with 70 slaves, 170,000 bricks, 80 cows and the usual dependencies [Marc Lafitte N.P.:1/25/1826].

Mrs. Marie Celeste Marigny Livaudais left New Orleans and moved to Paris, where she lived out her life in high social circles as a member of the coterie of King Louis Philippe [Samuel 1961:10]. In 1832 she sold Plantation Livaudais to four American developers, and Faubourg Livaudais was born. With its birth died one of the last agricultural regions on the New Orleans riverfront.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

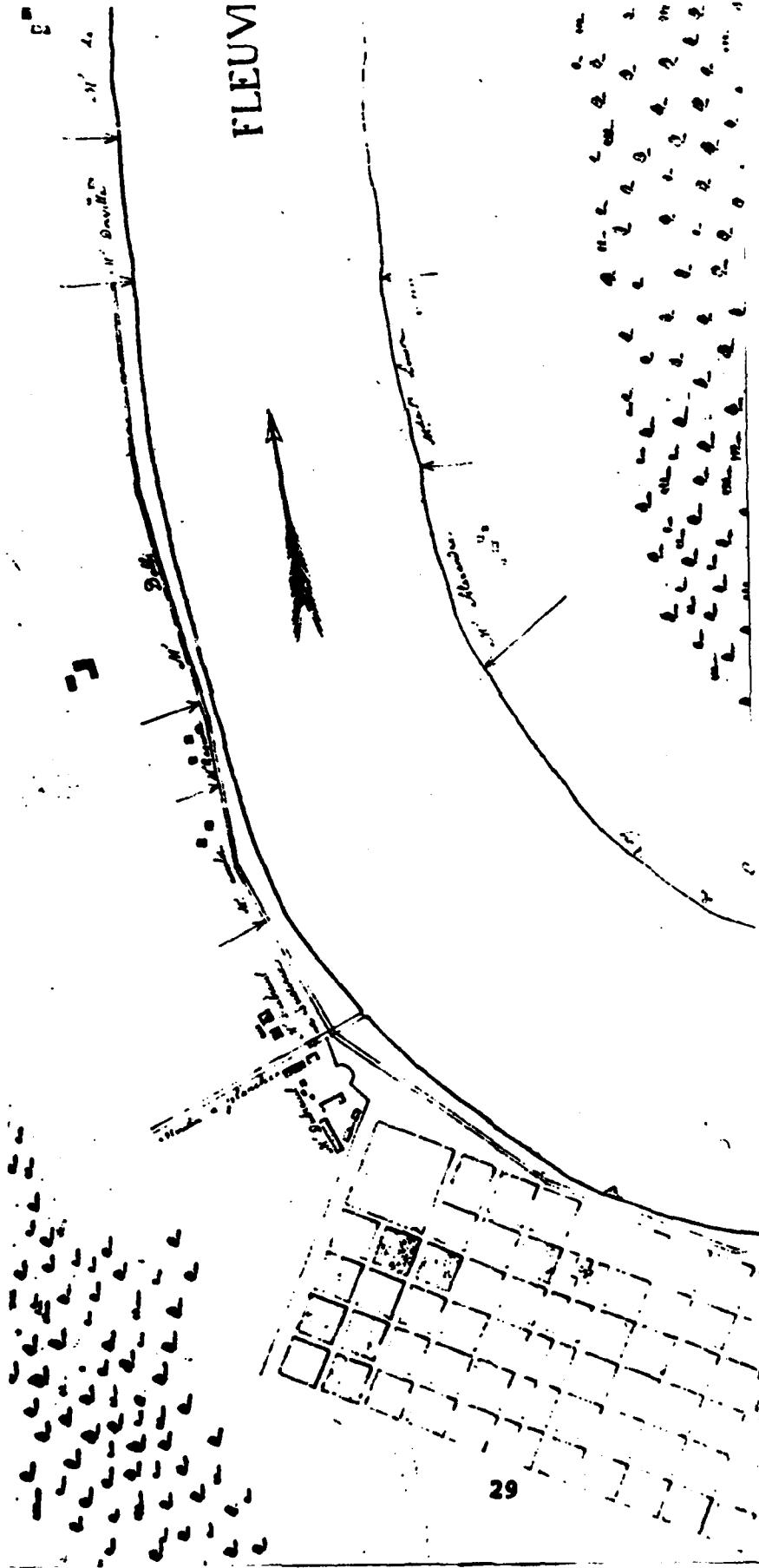


Figure 18. Plan of New Orleans, March 1, 1753. This Plan shows the seven arpent plantation of Joseph Claude Dubreuil, consisting of two arpents twelve toises above the Dubreuil, later Marigny, canal, and five arpents below the canal that used to be known as the Brasserie. Below him was the plantation of his daughter Felicite Dubreuil Amelot, then lands of Raguet, and then the large estate of Jonathas Darby. (Courtesy Library of Congress)

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PLANTATIONS

DUBREUIL PLANTATION

Below New Orleans the greatest plantation was established and developed by Claude Joseph Dubreuil [Fig. 18]. He arrived on the sandy shores of Biloxi in the winter of 1719 on the ship "The Compte de Toulouse" accompanied by his wife, two children, and fifteen workmen. Significantly, these included a carpenter, cooper, joiner, tailor, and shoemaker, crafts badly needed in the colony and totally appropriate to one about to embark on a career as the chief contractor of the colony. Dubreuil built most of the significant structures of the French period, including the Ursuline Convent, the first levee, rebuilt the Balize structures, as well as numerous private homes. He built the first Charity Hospital.

His first concession was upriver from New Orleans, at the bend above Carrollton, just above the Chauvin estate. At some point in the 1720's or 1730's he disposed of the plantation and acquired the lands below New Orleans that later evolved into Faubourg Marigny. By the thirties he was the Contractor of Public Works, and in October, 1736 the Crown awarded him the position of Captain of the Louisiana Militia. Dubreuil's two sons were Joseph Villars Dubreuil and Louis Villars Dubreuil. Louis, the older son, married Felicite de la Chaise.

At Dubreuil's death his plantation estate was auctioned for 570,743 livres, and included 188 slaves, 240,000 whole bricks, 150 cattle, 21 oxen, 20 mules, 4 bulls, 1 horse, 2 goats, a dwelling house and much lumber. Also included were 5 hogsheads and 6 barrels of brown sugar, the latter of which were valued at about 150 livres each. On the grounds were 5,000 earthen paving tiles, 8,000 shingles, 150,000 broken bricks, and 64,000 floor tiles. He had many pieces of iron and lead. There was no evidence of indigo on the plantation, though Dubreuil claimed to have been a pioneer in the production of indigo [Dart 1935: 267-332].

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840

THE TAKEOFF OF THE NEW ORLEANS ECONOMY 1800 - 1840

The most exciting era in the history of New Orleans economic growth occurred between 1800 and 1840. From a population of less than 8,000 the city grew to 102,193, a twelve-fold increase. During this period an entirely new means of transportation was born and grew to maturity--the steamboat. Steamboat arrivals in 1820 numbered only 198, by 1840 they had grown to 1958, an average of 6 per day [Hunter 1949: 644].

For a century after the takeoff of the New Orleans economy its commercial center remained unchanged--the riverfront from the Livaudais plantation above the city to McCarty's plantation below New Orleans. During the takeoff period the City constructed docks from Louisiana Avenue to Poland Avenue. As late as 1925 this stretch of the river accounted for almost every dock of significance in the Port of New Orleans [See Fig. 1; also Marwick, Mitchell, Peat & Co. 1914: 11]. The proposed floodwall alignments thus front on the entire historic Port of New Orleans.

The first impulse to growth arose from a burgeoning trade in western produce. Agricultural goods arrived from the hinterlands upriver by flatboat and were transferred to ocean going ships, generating income for the dockworkers, merchants, and shipbuilders who serviced this commerce. In 1803 the value of New Orleans western produce amounted to about \$1,500,000. By 1806 flour exports were averaging about 40,000 barrels a year. In 1809 1,100 flat-boats arrived in New Orleans, a number that grew to 2,000 by 1817 [Clark 1970: 313]. In the first half of the 1830's New Orleans received an average per year of 10,000 hogsheads of pork-bacon, 4,803,000 bulk lbs. of pork-bacon, 182,000 kegs of lard, 288,000 barrels of flour, 106,000 barrels of corn on the ear, and 34,000 barrels of whiskey [Berry 1943: 5]. This was the western produce that made New Orleans essential to the growth of the western United States. By 1845 New

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840: TAKEOFF

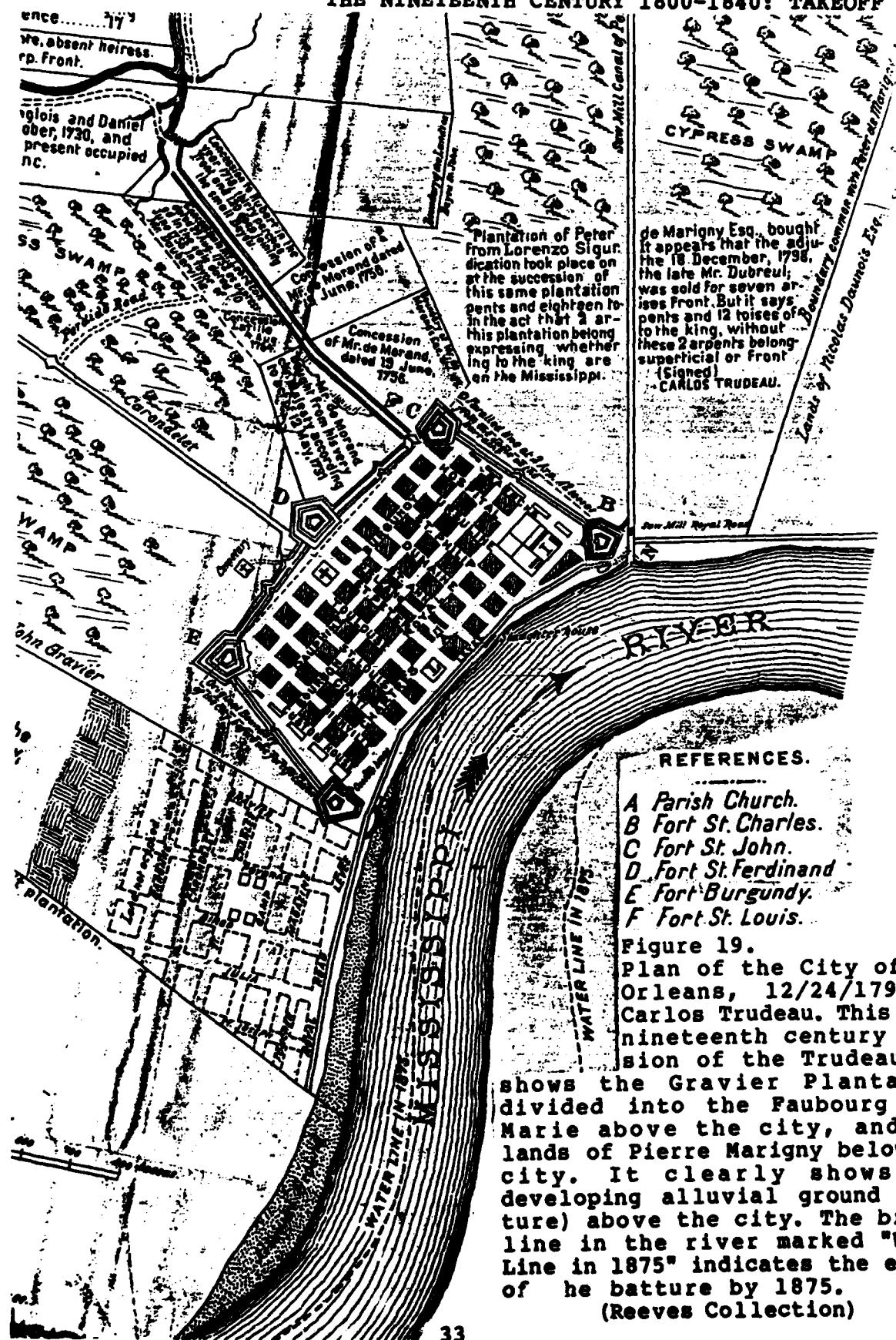
Orleans handled two-thirds of the \$71,000,000 worth of western produce shipped out of the United States [Capers 1939: 91].

The second impulse to growth was the arrival in New Orleans of a group of young dynamic merchants. The principal firms of the first decade of the new century dealing in western produce were Shepherd, Brown, and Company, Maunsel White and Company, Kenner and Henderson, and Bartlett and Coxe. Rezin Davis Shepherd, and his brother James, had a profound impact on New Orleans economy up to and after the death of Rezin D. Shepherd in 1866. Judah Touro and John McDonogh arrived at New Orleans during this first decade, Touro from Boston and McDonogh from Baltimore, and both bought and sold using the credit initially of their principals back home. Their goods came on consignment, and their profit was always net.

John McDonogh came to New Orleans in the fall of 1800 at the age of 21. For five years he had worked in the merchant house of William Taylor of Baltimore and in 1800 he was charged to bring a cargo to New Orleans. He sold it so successfully that he was able to persuade Taylor to keep him posted there, buying and selling on the account of Taylor. William Taylor's brother John operated a merchant house in London, thus facilitating the acquisition of English products so highly desired in Louisiana. To enhance his business opportunities in the declining years of the corrupt Spanish rule of Louisiana McDonogh became a Spanish subject, a status that helped him acquire a claim to thousands of acres of Spanish Florida land.

Taylor soon sent W. O. Payne to New Orleans to work with McDonogh, and the two formed the partnership of McDonogh & Payne. In less than two years Payne returned north, and McDonogh organized a partnership with Shepherd Brown, a well established merchant by the turn of the century. In the middle of 1802 Taylor sent Rezin D. Shepherd to New Orleans to help out; he had likewise been trained in the Taylor merchant house. R. D. Shepherd and Shepherd Brown

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840: TAKEOFF



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soon formed a partnership known, naturally, as Shepherd, Brown & Co. This firm worked closely with John McDonogh, Jr. & Co. These firms survived the transition from Spanish to French to American rule, and from 1803 to 1805 John McDonogh made a fortune that enabled him to retire as a merchant by 1806. In 1805 he became a director of the Louisiana Branch of the Bank of the United States, and well into becoming a major speculator in lands in and about New Orleans. Another of McDonogh's strengths was his knowledge of French and Spanish which he learned after his arrival in New Orleans. McDonogh and Shepherd remained close friends for the rest of their life, even while Shepherd spent much of his time in Boston [Allan 1983: 5-41]. The takeoff of the New Orleans economy was considerably aided by the networks of correspondents that young American merchants created in the first decade of American rule.

Cotton and sugar were in their infancy in this initial decade, but the old cash crops of indigo and tobacco had declined dramatically in importance, indigo permanently, tobacco temporarily. The cotton gin was invented in 1793, the Louisiana indigo crop was destroyed by root worms in 1794, and sugar was granulated on the Bore plantation in 1795. These dramatic events set the stage for the new staple crops of Louisiana in the 19th century. By 1802 New Orleans was exporting 18,000 bales of cotton and 5,000 hogsheads of sugar, numbers that grew to 63,000 bales of cotton and 20,000 hogsheads of sugar by 1817 [Clark 1970: 305]

THE BATTURE LANDS

The riverfront lands from Louisiana Avenue to the Industrial Canal are partly batture lands. These are the riverside lands newly created from river deposits, the product of the river current slowly moving toward the right bank along certain parts of the bend. The stretches of the riverfront with batture developing extend from Louisiana Avenue down-river two or three blocks, and comprise the lower portion of a long new batture that actually begins at Audubon Park. The second batture area commences at Adele

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840: BATTURE

Street, the middle of the Nuns Faubourg, and extends downriver to Toulouse Street. Below Toulouse the riverfront has remained comparatively stable, with just a small erosion during the 19th century. Tchoupitoulas and Decatur once marked the riverbanks above New Orleans and thus define the vast area of land that has been added to the east bank of New Orleans.

The ownership and use of this batture created legal disputes throughout the 19th century. In contrast, in the 18th century the disputes had arisen not over ownership but over the proper maintenance of levees. In 1724 the Superior Council ordered the construction of a levee along the Tchoupitoulas coast upwards from the Dubreuil estate as one way to prevent disputes over flooding between the adjacent plantation owners [Ceard's Case, LHQ 5:155-186].

The great batture cases of the 19th century were important because they concerned the ownership of some of the most valuable land in New Orleans, because they involved the Governments of the United States, the State of Louisiana, and the City of New Orleans, and because they involved the richest and most able private interests in America. The floodwall extends along the edge of the batture whose ownership was decided in these cases.

The principal dispute arose over the land immediately above New Orleans, extending from Gravier Street to Howard Avenue, known as Faubourg Ste. Marie or the Gravier lands. It generated the following lawsuits: John Gravier vs. The Mayor, Aldermen, and inhabitants of the City of New Orleans (May, 1807); Livingston vs. Le Breton D'Orgenois [7 Cranch (U.S.) 577 (1813)]; Livingston vs. Jefferson (1811); Livingston vs. J. M. Fortier (1810); Morgan vs. Livingston; Gravier vs. Livingston; Two settlements; and finally New Orleans, Mobile & Chattanooga Railroad Co. vs. City of New Orleans (1874). Another major batture case arose below Canal Street and involved the City and the Government of the United States. This case began in

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840: BATTURE

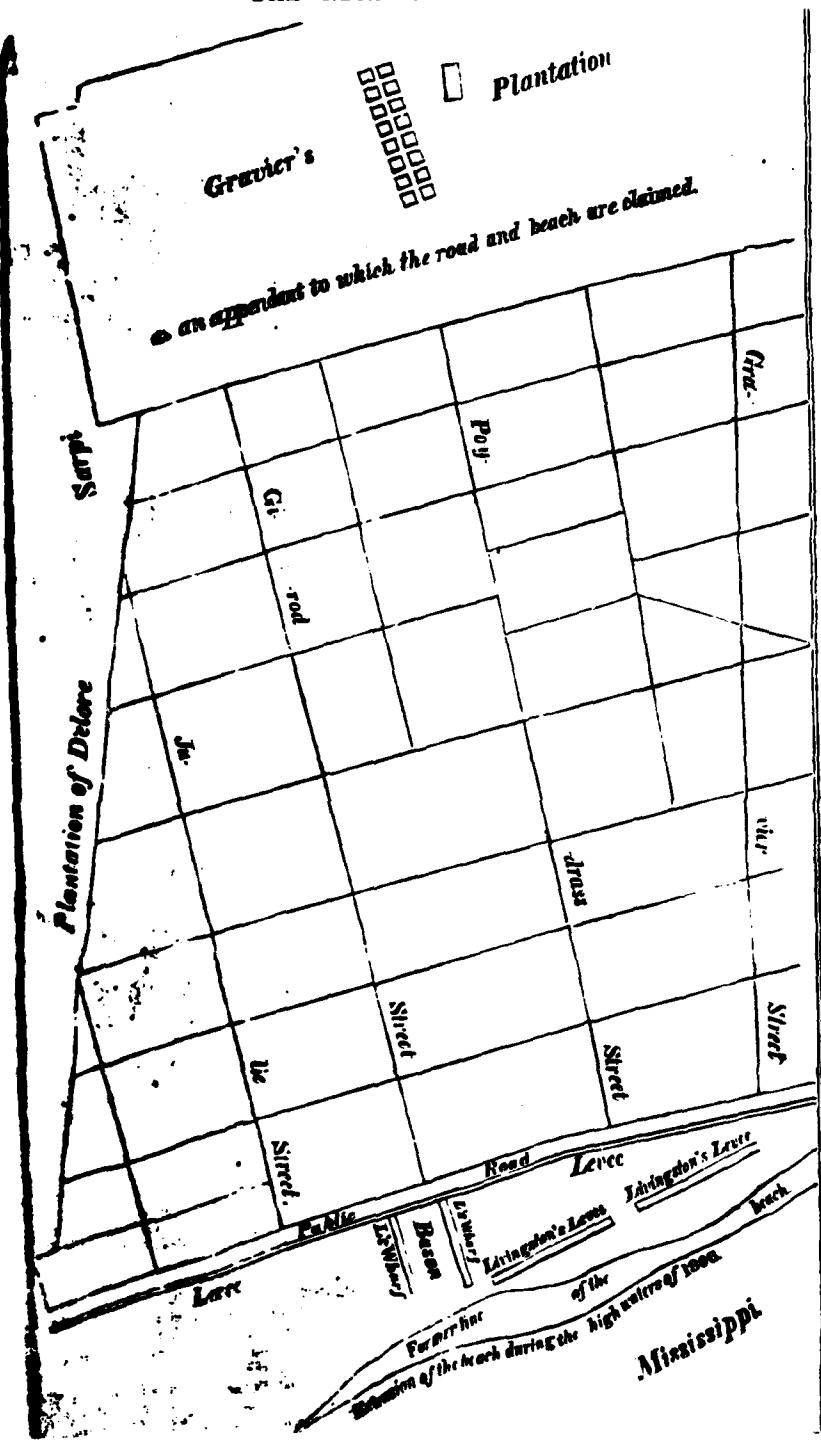


Figure 20.
Plan of the Subdivision of the Gravier Plantation showing the works erected by Edward Livingston on the batture. Circa 1809.
(American State Papers, Public Lands, II, 75)

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840: BATTURE

1825 and was not settled until 1836. In a third case two municipalities engaged in a court contest that lasted many years over the batture. A fourth line of disputes involved the city against several private landowners seeking to appropriate the levee or batture for their private use, the decisions all going in favor of the landowner.

The source of the Faubourg Ste. Marie lawsuits can be found in the shady characters of the two Gravier's. Bertrand Gravier's wife inherited the land above New Orleans and at her death Gravier improperly arranged for a will to be written leaving the land to him. Subsequently he sold the front lots of the plantation to individual investors without clear and adequate descriptions, a failure that generated many volumes of legal dispute. At his death his nephew Jean Gravier took possession of the entire estate, and failed to notify three other equal heirs in France of their inheritance. Both Gravier's neglected to maintain the public road and levee in front of their property at various periods during the 1790's. All of these failures came back to haunt Jean Gravier and Edward Livingston, the transplanted New Yorker who arrived in New Orleans in February, 1804, to make his fortune.

Bertrand Gravier was first of the adjacent landowners to the City of New Orleans to form a suburb or Faubourg [Fig. 20]. A Bordeaux merchant, in 1782 he found himself bankrupt and owing \$53,671 to his creditors. He entered into a concordat with them, promising to pay off 25% of the debt within two years and the balance should fortune ever permit it. His creditors agreed, and permitted him to go to Louisiana, where he married the rich widow Maria Josepha Deslond a few years later [Changeur vs. Granvier (1824), 2 Martin (N.S.), 545].

In April, 1788 he commissioned the eminent Spanish surveyor Laveau Trudeau to lay out a suburb on his twelve arpents of land owned by his wife Maria Josepha Deslond, the widow of Andre Renard who purchased the arpents in 1763 at the auction sale of the Jesuit land. She had inherited

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the land from her late husband, and after her marriage to Gravier it remained her separate property. The Faubourg Ste. Marie as the subdivision was appropriately named, was laid out with six squares facing the river road (Tchoupitoulas), and eight squares deep, behind which the remainder of the depth of the plantation existed, on which the Gravier's continued to live. Across Tchoupitoulas (36' wide) was the levee, and beyond it a batture and river.

Bertrand Gravier initiated the practice common to all the later subdivisions of selling off the front lands first, for the good reason that they were the most valuable. One of the large lots (the entire frontage between Gravier and Poydras Streets), number 7, he sold to J. B. Poeyfarre on February 27, 1789, with measurements of 415 feet on the river road by approximately 200 feet deep [Morgan v. Livingston et al (6 Martin O.S. 19)]. Shortly thereafter Poeyfarre sold a portion of the lot to Pierre Bailly, a free man of color, who worked in the wood trade on the Mississippi from 1763 to 1818. About 1813 Bailly sold his land to Benjamin Morgan, merchant and judge, who sent carts to work on the batture until Livingston warned him off. In 1818 Morgan brought a suit to claim the batture from Livingston and others.

In the 1780's the batture outside of the levee along Tchoupitoulas hardly existed. A Mr. Bruneau used to bring rafts drawing as much as ten feet of water up to the levee in front of the Poeyfarre lot. Large ships drawing as much as fifteen feet of water would also tie up there [Testimony of Bruneau, March 27, 1818, Morgan vs. Livingston at UNO].

On November 18, 1792 Maria Josepha Deslonde, Bertrand Gravier's wife, died, and on her deathbed Gravier concocted a will in which she left her estate to Gravier. The record shows that she died before the will could be completed, yet Gravier was successful in having the will promulgated excluding the Deslonde heirs from their property. Bertrand Gravier lived only five years after this

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fraud, and at his death his brother Jean Gravier repeated the fraud. By 1797 the valuable front portion of the plantation had been sold off, leaving only the marshy rear where Gravier lived. Jean spread rumors that Bertrand had debts in France and cleverly refused the inheritance. The courts then inventoried and auctioned the property, and in the inventory neglected to mention a batture. The court also failed to notify other absent heirs of Bertrand in France. Jean purchased the rear property for 2,700 pesos and then a few years later claimed the then valuable batture. Both of these Gravier frauds could not have been executed without the concurrence of corrupt Spanish officials. Nevertheless in the 19th century both sets of heirs filed suits and both won substantial sums of money because of the frauds.

In the 1790's the batture began to grow at a rapid pace, and about the turn of the century Jean Gravier decided to develop it. He and his deceased brother had sold the front lots with the standard language of "face to the river." This clause usually meant the new owner acquired the riparian rights, but curiously the owners did not make a claim to the batture when Gravier began developing it, but joined Gravier in 1806 by asserting that their lands were bounded by the public road. Why this occurred is not explained, but it was not until Benjamin Morgan filed his suit in 1818 that the matter was decided, and it was decided that Gravier did not own the land in front of the Pierre Bailly parcel.

The record of who actually exerted authority over the batture presents a contradictory picture of ownership. In the early 1790's Gravier had operated a brick kiln on the batture using earth from the batture. In 1795 and subsequent years Laurent Sigur had a contract to supply the royal navy of Spain with masts. In the spring of that year he brought a very large raft of masts down, but could not place them as usual below the town. He applied to Carondelet, who asked him to get permission from Gravier to place the masts on his

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batture. Gravier gave permission and the masts were placed on the batture for as long as eighteen months. The same situation reappeared in 1798 when Jean Gravier approved the temporary storage of the masts [ASP, II: 58]. However, in 1794 Claude Francois Girod had purchased part of the batture from Gravier. Since Gravier had successfully exerted authority over his batture in the 1790's, in 1801 Girod sought to build a brick kiln on his parcel. The Cabildo refused permission, and Girod abided by the decision [ASP, II:40].

In 1804 after the Louisiana Purchase Gravier calculated that the value of the land had increased, and hired Jean Lewis Laurent to enclose a portion of land 400 feet facing the square between Julie and St. Joseph Streets, extending five or six hundred feet deep to the river. On February 22, 1804 the City Council ordered the demolition of the enclosure. The following month, March 27, Gravier sold an undivided two-thirds of the land (minus one square) to Pierre Delabigarre, a recently arrived New Yorker for \$10,000. Livingston agreed to pay one half the money as a silent partner.

In October, 1805, Gravier brought suit against the city to quiet title. On December 14, 1806 Gravier entered into a contract with Delabigarre that Delabigarre should pay the expenses of the lawsuit plus \$50,000 for all of the batture [ASP II:79]. Livingston asserts that he waited until after the judgement of May 23, 1807 and the dismissal of the effort to have title vested in the United States before he purchased the batture from Gravier, Delabigarre, and Girod for \$80,000 [ASP II:14].

Upon the resumption of work on the levee popular opposition surfaced immediately. Newspaper articles appeared blasting Livingston and Gravier. One evening a mob appeared and drove off the workmen, and this was repeated for days, all the while the Mayor James Pitot and commander of the Militia J. B. Macarty looked on. Livingston appealed to Governor William C. Claiborne to restore order, and

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Claiborne reluctantly addressed the crowd one evening. Through his influence with the leading men he was able to get the crowd to retire, but he indicated that the decision of the Superior Court was not the last word, and that he would press the President to intervene. Nevertheless, in the fall of 1807 Livingston opened his canal 276' long by 64' wide and 4' 2" deep at low water from the river across the batture.

Pierre Derbigny, Benjamin Morgan, Jean Baptist Macarty and the other opponents, having lost within the State, appealed to Thomas Jefferson, arguing that a territorial court was giving away land properly belonging to the United States. Before leaving New York Livingston had already alienated Jefferson by not showing enough enthusiasm for his election to the Presidency in 1800, and Jefferson was anxious to find a way to damage the transplanted New Yorker. In January 1808 on Jefferson's orders the U.S. Marshall seized the batture, supported by troops of the United States, and drove off Livingston's workers who were busily preparing levees for the impending high water. Livingston claimed to have spent \$13,000 in the months preceding this action in developing the land. This thrust from Washington was vigorously attacked by Livingston, but it proved impossible to find a proper forum to defeat the power of the Presidency. In spite of various suits Livingston brought against the U.S. Marshalls and Jefferson himself, Livingston was unable to secure effective control of the batture again. It remained undeveloped until 1820.

In 1817 the three other heirs of Bertrand Gravier brought suit in the First District Court claiming that if the U. S. Government did own the batture, and the Superior Court had found in 1807 that it belonged to Jean Gravier, that three quarters of it must actually belong to them. They successfully argued that the batture had never been appraised and inventoried at the succession of Bertrand Gravier, and thus had not been purchased by Jean Gravier had

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his false sale in 1798. When the decision was rendered in 1819 the Court ordered a partition between the heirs for three fourths of the batture and Livingston for one fourth. Livingston lost by this decision most of a property the court then valued at \$100,000 [Gravier et al. v. Livingston et al., 6 Martin (O.S.) 281].

Two years later the heirs sued Jean Gravier attacking the entire adjudication in 1798 and asking that the sale be set aside. The Supreme Court awarded the heirs \$25,283.75. In the course of their judgment the Court noted that the basis for the request for appraisement and inventory of the Bertrand Gravier estate had been Jean Gravier's claim to be owed \$15,000 by the estate. When the document was submitted to court it was proved a total forgery, the court stating, "painful as it is to express an opinion, which implies such a total want of moral principle in one of our citizens, justice requires it, and our first duty is to satisfy her demands." [Gravier v. Gravier's Heirs; Gravier's Heirs v. Gravier; Same v. Same, 3 Martin (N.S.) 206].

Legal struggles precluded the development of the batture from Gravier's attempt in 1804 until 1820. In that year the claimants to the batture (Livingston, Gravier, Bertrand Gravier's heirs, Delabigarre's heirs, and several other owners) decided to settle the dispute. Their method took the form of donating the batture between a new levee and the river to the City. In accepting the donation, the City insisted upon certain improvements to the former batture that was now between 200 and 300 feet wide and almost 4,000 feet long. Tchoupitoulas should be built to 60 feet wide including the banquettes, all buildings on the new land were to be of brick or stone with tile roofs, the owners were to pay the City \$300 per each 30 feet of front footage to allow the City to construct a market in the vicinity, and most importantly, the landowners at their own expense were to build a new levee faced with wood and extend the streets to the new levee. The only limitation on the

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City was that it could never use the land for anything but commerce, never sell it, and could only erect "jettees ou warfs" and a steam fire pump on the property [Hughes Lavergne N.P.:9/20/1820].

Within three months the landowners had begun to sell off their lots and had signed a contract with the firm of H. Gorham and John Rust to construct the levee according to specifications written by City Surveyor Joseph Pilie. The facing was to be erected of posts 8 1/2 inches square and from 18 to 22 feet long. This design set the pattern for embankment construction for many decades in New Orleans.

This admirable compromise led to much development of the Faubourg Ste. Marie, but the batture did not stop expanding. Twenty years later the City engineers were lamenting that the batture continued to expand to the detriment of commerce. The vast empty spaces between New Levee and the river made wharf maintenance difficult and hindered private development. In the forties the City began conversations with the landowners to amend the settlement of 1820 and to allow for the sale of the new row of batture land that had appeared along the river. George T. Dunbar, Surveyor for the Second Municipality, drew a new plan that added three rows of squares across the front of the batture between New Levee Street and the river. The new streets were Fulton, Front, and Delta Streets extending from Common Street to Delord (Howard) Street. The Council approved the plan on June 17, 1846 declaring that the batture "instead of being an accomodation to the public. . . retards business and increases the expense of Merchants, and of the Community in general." [H.B. Cenas N.P.: June 30,1851]

In 1806 while Livingston and Gravier were struggling over the Faubourg Ste. Marie batture, Bernard Marigny applied for permission to create Faubourg Marigny. The example of mob attacks on Livingston's workmen as well as the real estate man's perception of a public batture as a sales tool prompted him to donate the batture to the public.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840: BATTURE



Figure 21.
Plan of the square between Marigny and Mandeville
Streets, 1838. It shows fourteen lots assigned to
Marigny, and docks along the river.
(J. Cuvillier N.P.: Vol. 17, No. 150)

Thirty years later Marigny petitioned the Council for the Third Municipality for permission to build a series of shops along the first two blocks of the batture from Elysian Fields to Mandeville Street. The shops would house residents above them [Fig. 22]. Twenty eight lots were projected, fourteen in each square, with a depth of 60 feet by 20 feet wide [Fig. 21]. The Council went along with Marigny's plan, but the Mayor vetoed it. In a subsequent compromise Marigny agreed to accept only the lower square, while the City decided to erect the Port Market in the upper of the two squares. One reason the Council wished to compromise with Marigny was a threat by Marigny that he would revoke the

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840: BATTURE

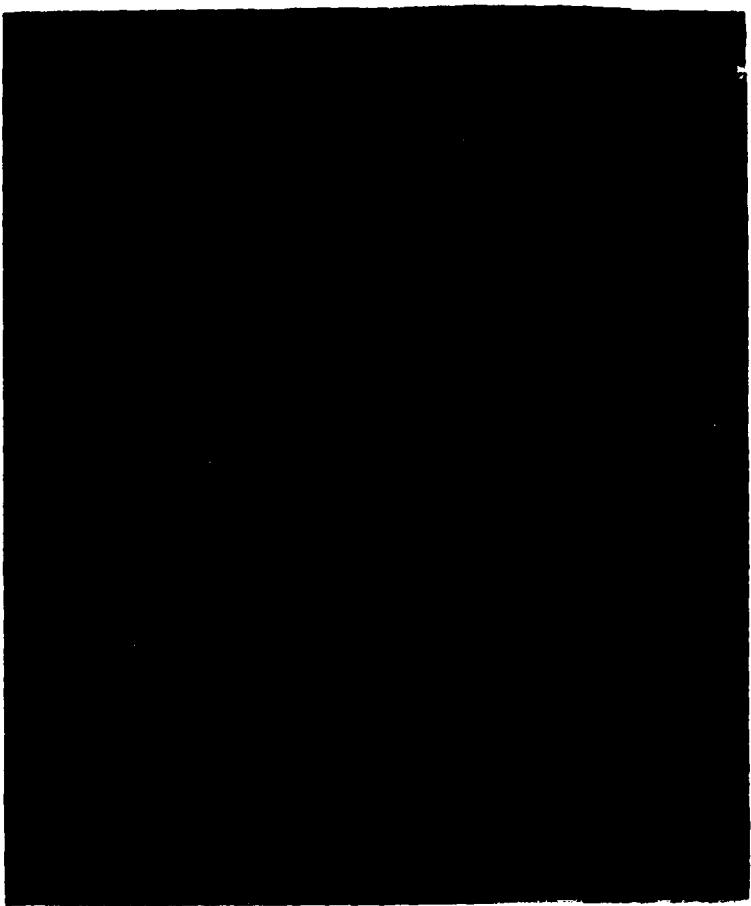
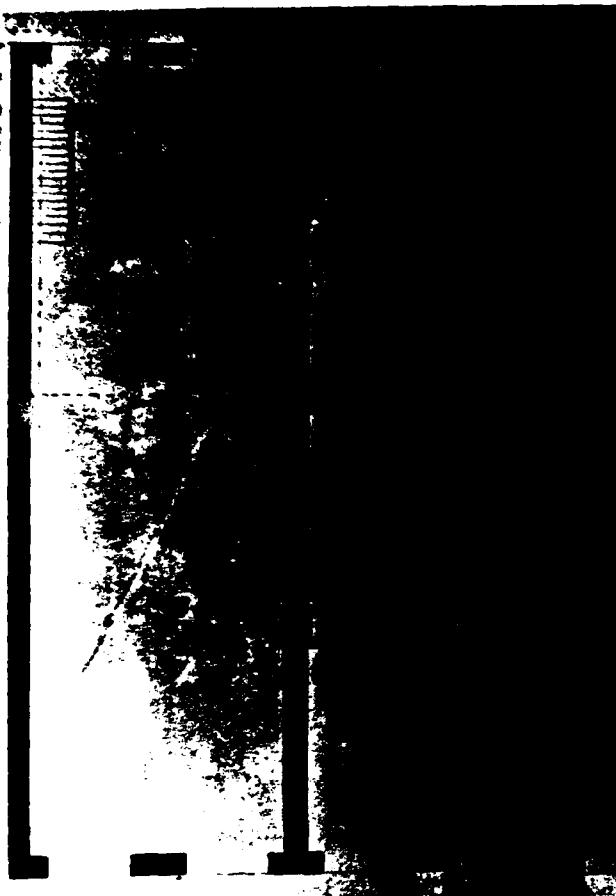


Figure 22.

Plan and Elevation of two of the structures on batture between Marigny and Mandeville Streets. The floodwall will go through the rear of these structures. (L. Herman N.P.: 12/14/1841)

donation he had made in 1806. His threat had some merit because at the time it was made Marigny was technically a minor, and thus incapable by himself of making donations [Plan of Louis Surgi, 2/29/1838 in J. Cuvillier N.P.: 2/22/1838].

Yet another offshoot of the Livingston batture controversy came uptown. In 1807 Jacques Francois Enoul Livaudais decided to sell half of his plantation between Race and Nuns Street to Robin de Logny, and the two of them ordered Barthelemy Lafon to prepare a plan of subdivision and in May offered the lots to the public. In the Prospectus for Faubourgs Annunciation and Lacourse [Fig. 23] the owners

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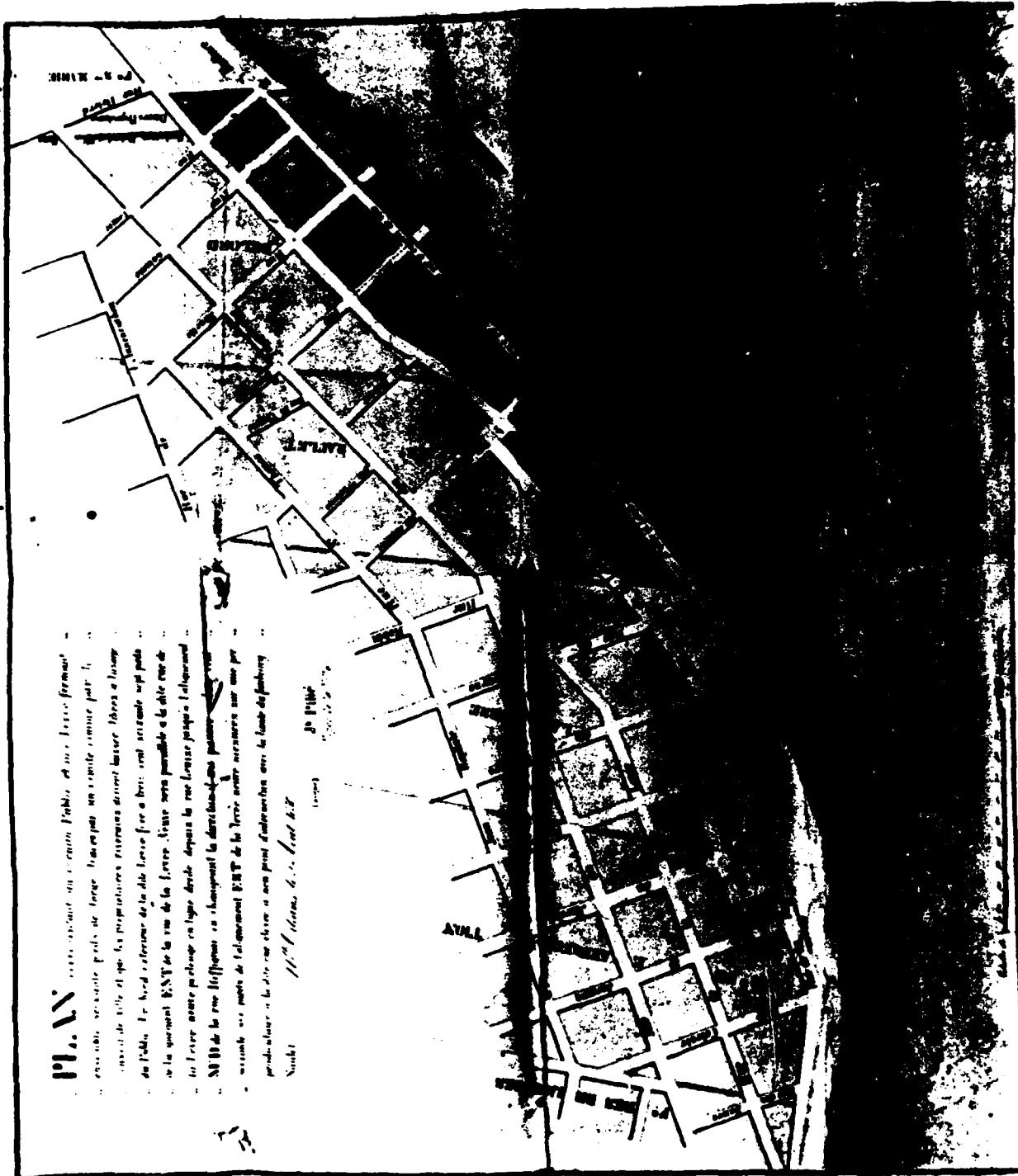


Figure 23.
Plan of the Public Road and Levee. . . 8/5/1830 by J. Pilie. It shows the batture growing beyond New Levee Street and the new Front Street. (Supreme Court Collection, UNO)

SALE
by
C.E. GIRAROEY & Co
Tuesday 25th Feb: 1868.

For Sale
of
107 LOTS IN DIST.

NEW LEVEE ST.

16	25	24	33	32	21	20	19	18	17	16	15
26	35	34	43	42	31	30	29	28	27	26	25
27	36	35	44	43	32	31	30	29	28	27	26
28	37	36	45	44	33	32	31	30	29	28	27
29	38	37	46	45	34	33	32	31	30	29	28

MARKET ST.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
34A	35A	36A	37A	38A	39A	40A	41A	42A	43A	44A	45A
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34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

35A

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
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27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39

MISSISSIPPI RIVER

WATER ST.

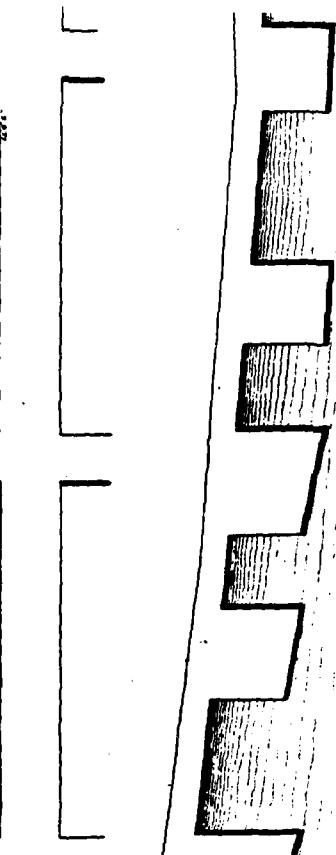


Figure 24.
Plan for the Subdivision of the Livaudais Batture
for auction sale in 1868.
(H.C.Dibble N.P.: 4/18/1868)

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advertised that each lot would have 7,200 square feet (standard lot of 60' x 120' F.M.), that a square would be reserved for a college, and that the vendors abandon their riverfront to the public use [P. Pedesclaux N.P.: 5/14/1807]. This move was fitting since Livaudais had testified against Livingston in the court case stating that Gravier had declared he had abandoned his batture in the early 1790's. Undoubtedly potential public opposition to private development influenced his decision, as well as the opportunity to enhance his sales of the lots behind the road.

Just as the compromisers of 1820 did not foresee the further extension of the batture in front of Faubourg Ste. Marie, so likewise the batture grew further uptown before the Livaudais lands. The upper end of the growing batture was Celeste Street, and from there to Race Street the land that steadily appeared belonged to the public. The sentiment here was similar to that in front of Faubourg Ste. Marie, for the vacant land slowed commercial development of the area and in the fifties the heirs of the former owners petitioned the State Legislature for permission to take over the land again in a settlement with the City. This was granted in March of 1855 as an act that permitted residents of incorporated towns to claim batture land no longer needed by the public. But the City put up a claim as well, based on their sale of a piece of the land in 1854, an act of possession that conferred ownership. Like all disputes it dragged on until the Civil War halted these types of disputes, and after the war the City and the heirs of Livaudais and de Logny reached a settlement whereby the land was surveyed and sold, and the proceeds allocated amongst the parties [Heirs of Livaudais vs. City of New Orleans, CDC 57-725: 9/28/1867]. Between February and July 1868 a series of public auctions were held and 102 lots were sold [Fig. 24]. This strip of batture adjoins the floodwall between Celeste and Race Streets, and at the intersection of Market Street (lot 11 and 12 of square 34A) apparently the floodwall crosses it. See Plan of H. A. Bell, City Surveyor,

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December 7, 1867.

Between the Faubourg Annunciation-Lacourse and Faubourg Ste. Marie lies the plantations of Delord-Sarpy and Saulet. The proprietors of these 13 arpents subdivided their plantations beginning in 1806 [Plan of Barthelemy Lafon, February 6, 1806, NONA, Plan Book 18/1]. These owners did not dedicate their batture to the City and instead built at their own expense a new levee out beyond the old levee at Tchoupitoulas Street, forming the alignment that was later used for New Levee Street in Faubourg Ste. Marie. Lots were sold off in these new squares and in 1831 the City incorporated the two faubourgs requiring them to pay the usual taxes and receive the same benefits as the remainder of the City. However, on March 16, 1830 the State Legislature passed "An Act concerning Levees...." and on October 5, 1830 the City Council enacted an ordinance requiring the erection of a new levee along the Faubourgs Delord and Saulet [Fig. 25]. The batture had accumulated numerous buildings by 1830 including two sawmills, wharves, sheds, a coal yard, much lumber and when pursuant to the Ordinance of 1830 the City Surveyor, Joseph Pilie, went to survey the riverfront he found these structures obstructed the river front in violation of Civil Code article 446 (And no building, or any other work or fabrication, is permitted to be made on them, which may prevent or hinder such use, or its enjoyment, to the full extent of public utility.) The Mayor ordered their removal within ten days, and the owners applied for an injunction, and the dispute moved to the Supreme Court, where it was decided in April, 1832 that indeed the City did have the right to remove the obstructions [Henderson et al. v. Mayor et al., 3 La. 563].

The court refused to rule on the right of the City to build a new levee without compensating the owners for the space taken by the levee and the new street that would lie just inside of it (Front Street). Instead they sent the case back to the District Court, which found that the City would

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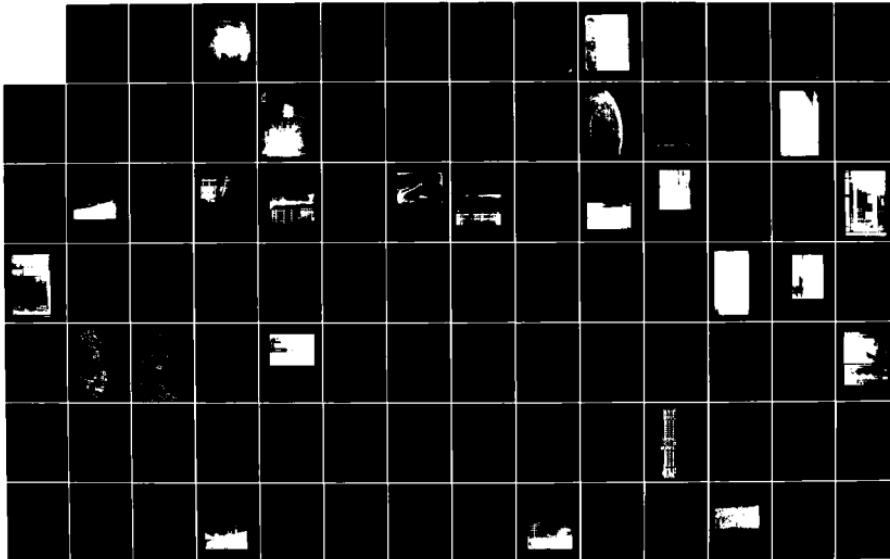
Figure 25.
Detail of Plan of the Public Road and Levee...
8/5/1830 by J. Pilie. The Public Road sat on top
of the levee and together they occupied sixty feet
of land. A citizen Landowner committee chosen by
the City Council selected the site.
(Supreme Court Collection, UNO)

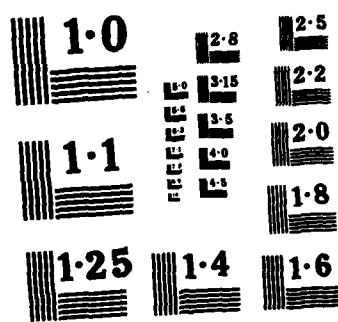
AD-A145 484 ARCHIVAL EVALUATION OF FLOODWALL ALIGNMENTS: NEW
ORLEANS LOUISIANA/KL REEVES (SALLY K AND WILLIAM D) NEW
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III





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have to pay for the Street, but not the levee. In a second appeal the Supreme Court decided that since the riparian proprietor, Delord-Sarpy, had already donated two roads to the city, Tchoupitoulas and New Levee, that an additional road would have to be paid for, and thus affirmed the decision of the District Court [Henderson et al. v. Mayor, et al., May, 1833, 5 La. 416].

In settling the compensation to be paid for the new road (Front St.) the City and the Orleans Cotton Press settled another dispute over a curious bend in the route of New Levee Street [Fig. 26]. From the turn of the century near the upper boundary of the Delord property New Levee was given a turn toward the river, instead of running straight. The inefficient bend cut into the large square the Cotton Press was preparing to use as its site, so in July of 1833 the City and the Press agreed to a swap where the Press gave the City the land necessary for a straight New Levee and the City gave the Press the old right-of-way [Plan of Charles F. Zimpel, July 20, 1833, NONA, Plan Book 104/43].

The Orleans Cotton Press was the first of more than a dozen presses to appear in this vicinity of New Orleans. It was also the most enduring, surviving until 1912. A cotton press is an enclosure of low warehouses normally occupying an entire square. Entrance is through one or more gates that pierce the warehouses situated around the periphery of the square. Wagons of cotton bales enter the enclosure and are sorted and weighed. The cotton is then brought to the press, a large steam or screw press situated in a two or three story principal building on one side or the other of the square. The press actually compresses the cotton and bales it with the goal of getting more pounds of cotton into a cubic foot. This is essential to reducing the shipping cost of the cotton and making Louisiana cotton competitive on the world market. Most of the square footage of a normal cotton press was actually used for storage of cotton awaiting shipment.

The Freret and the Levee Steam Press both ante-

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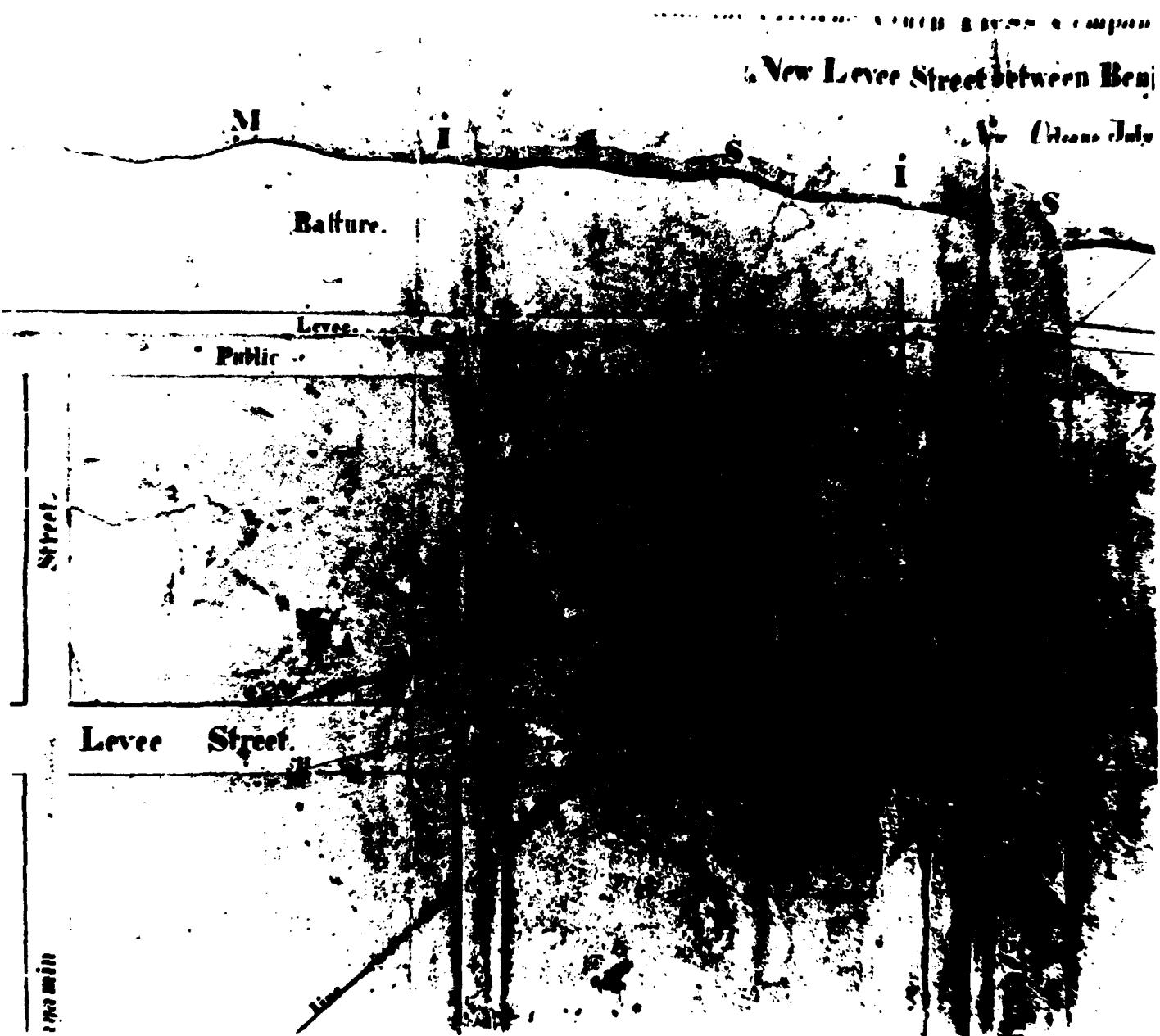


Figure 26.

Charles F. Zimpel Plan (1833) for straightening of New Levee Street showing the batture immediately beyond Public Road now Front Street. The Orleans Cotton Press went up on the square numbered 29. Notice the diagonal line separating Suburb Delord from Suburb Saulet.

(Plan Book 104/43, NONA)

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dated the Orleans Press, but the latter for a long period of time held the record as the largest press. This uptown press was apparently initiated by Nathaniel Cox & Co. and was initially promoted as "The Orleans Cotton Press of Nathaniel Cox & Co." Also instrumental in launching the new company was Thomas Banks and Stephen Henderson, the latter was a large landowner in the area. More than a hundred partners signed the copartnership papers on the 21st of May, 1832 and they represented the cream of the New Orleans business world--Jeddiah Leeds, Alexander Milne, Paul Tulane, Samuel J. Peters, James H. Caldwell, John M. Bach, and Robert Layton [Wm. Christy N.P.:5/21/1832]. By prearrangement the following day the new partnership purchased a half dozen lots in the square bounded by New Levee, Roffignac, Thalia, and Front. The company was soon tied up in the lawsuit with the City over its ownership of the square and it was not till April 1833 when the suit was settled that the remainder of the square was purchased. On January 21, 1833 the Company's first President, the merchant Charles Byrne, went to work at a salary of \$2,000 [Byrne v. Orleans Cotton Press Company, 18 La. 336]. The press hired Charles F. Zimpel, engineer and surveyor, to layout the building, draw the plans, and supervise the construction. The entire complex cost \$753,558. The first engineer supervising the steam press went to work in February 24, 1835 on a one-year contract, but was discharged the following September [Sherburne v. Orleans Cotton Press, 15 La. 360]. Both of these initial employees ended up in lawsuits with the press claiming money owed them and both won. The first ten years of the press were plagued by lawsuits, and culminated in a fire, that led to the purchase of the entire property by Rezin D. Shepherd in 1846 for \$270,000. Shepherd and his heirs held the building until 1888.

Contributing to the press's initial difficulties were the numerous lawsuits with the City. The culminating suit was brought by Municipality No. 2 in November of 1838 and was decided in April of 1841. The batture had continued

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to grow outside of the square of the cotton press and the press had immediately claimed it. The City stated that it belonged to the City by virtue of a dedication by Madame Delord-Sarpy and by simply being a place of public usage without a specific private owner. The Court rejected such arguments, extending the principal of Morgan vs. Livingston that a road or levee does not curtail the private ownership of the batture by the riparian owner. The court also laid to rest a distinction pushed by the City since 1804 that rural alluvial rights were different from urban riparian rights in that urban rights were always limited to the specific lot and did not permit the accretion of batture. The Court found that urban lots fronting the river were just as much riparian lands as rural plantations. [Municipality No. 2 v. Orleans Cotton Press, 18 La. 122].

The case of Municipality No. 2 v. Orleans Cotton Press settled many ownership disputes that had plagued suburban riverfronts during the 1830's. For example, the new town of Lafayette incorporated the Faubourg Nuns in 1833 and soon sought to develop its riverfront by constructing a levee with a planked outside edge. In July 1833 harbormaster Joshua Winter and a gang of men sought to dispossess George de Passau, the owner of most of the front of square 33 between St. Andrew and St. Mary Streets, of the use of his batture between the public road (Tchoupitoulas, 60' F.M. in width) and the levee, a space about 28' wide. De Passau leased the land to tenants who used it as a lumber yard, but De Passau maintained the road and levee. De Passau brought suit, and eventually won on a technicality because the Supreme Court was not yet ready to decide whether private land could become public land through public usage [De Passau v. Winter et al., June, 1834, 7 La. 1. See also Gleisse & Holland v. Winter, February, 1836, 9 La. 149]. In Municipality No. 2 v. Orleans Cotton Press the Court finally rejected the claims of cities to ownership.

Though the court strongly affirmed the private

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property rights of the riparian owners to the levee, road, and batture, in a parallel case it just as strongly endorsed the public's right to the use of the riverfront. The square immediately below the cotton press bounded by New Levee, Front, Thalia, and Erato belonged to Benjamin Morgan by virtue of his purchase of the adjoining mainland square from Madame Delord-Sarpy in 1806. In the 1820's Morgan went bankrupt and John McDonogh bought this new batture square. He sold it to John R. Pulley in 1830 for \$120,000, and in 1836 Pulley sold to James Erwin for about half that sum because of the damage the new city levee caused his business on the square. In October, 1830, the City had ordered to survey to lay out a new levee and to remove any obstructions in the right of way. Pulley, however, had developed the square, and the Court found that the owners "had used various means to raise the batture, by sinking or permitting sunken boats and other craft to remain on it; leaving various materials to mix with the mud deposited by the river." Pulley constructed a new levee on the outside edge of the square, evidently somewhat anticipating the Front street levee. He used the property as a lumber yard for cutting up rafts of timber and flat boats for wood. He also kept stables and storehouses for storing lime, hay and other articles, and maintained a large brick grocery establishment.

Onto this crowded and prosperous square the city authorities entered and dug a trench across 250 feet long, 100 feet wide, and 5 feet deep, effectively shutting down the operations. The dirt from the excavation was moved to build the new Front street levee ordered in 1830 along the extent of faubourgs Delord and Saulet. The owners sued for damages of \$20,000, but the Supreme Court found the City within its rights [Pulley & Erwin v. Municipality No. 2, 18 La. 278]. This decision explicitly legitimized borrow pits for levee construction.

The question of the ownership of the batture along the New Orleans riverfront originated with the Livingston

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case in Faubourg Ste. Marie, and moved upriver to the Delord-Sarpy and Saulet Faubourgs, and then Livaudais-Robin de Logny lands above that. The disputes in these three areas were resolved successively in 1820, 1841, and 1867. However, the batture also developed in front of the old quarter of town--the lowest extremity of that long batture that extended from Celeste Street down to Toulouse Street.

In this fourth section of the batture the dispute arose between two public bodies, the City of New Orleans and the United States Government. Since the 1720's the land between the front town lots and the levee had been called a "quay" and devoted to public use. During the 18th century its size remained unchanged, and it was covered with grass and used as a pasturage for cattle and horses. With the takeoff of the New Orleans economy the citizens began using it as a place for loading and unloading goods, and as a place of deposit. The vegetation disappeared along with the cattle. The Spanish Government maintained a wooden custom house between Iberville and Bienville Streets along with a wooden tobacco warehouse. Earlier the windmill and powder magazine had stood nearby on this upper end of the city. In 1818 the city extended the streets to a new levee cutting across the former quay, and with the accretion of the batture commercial uses moved a block further away from the front of the city bounded by Levee Street (now Decatur). This empty land now became a drag on commerce, since it was not required for open storage, yet being public, private interests could not build warehouses or mills on it [Fig. 27].

In 1824 the City decided to auction the land, but in a twinkling the U. S. Attorney John Smith requested the sale be halted since the actual owner was the U. S. Government. The City demurred, and Smith secured an injunction from the courts. Nothing happened for three years until the City submitted a memorial to Congress, and in 1830 Congress replied that it could not acquiesce. But in 1833 the administration agreed to permit the sale of the lots

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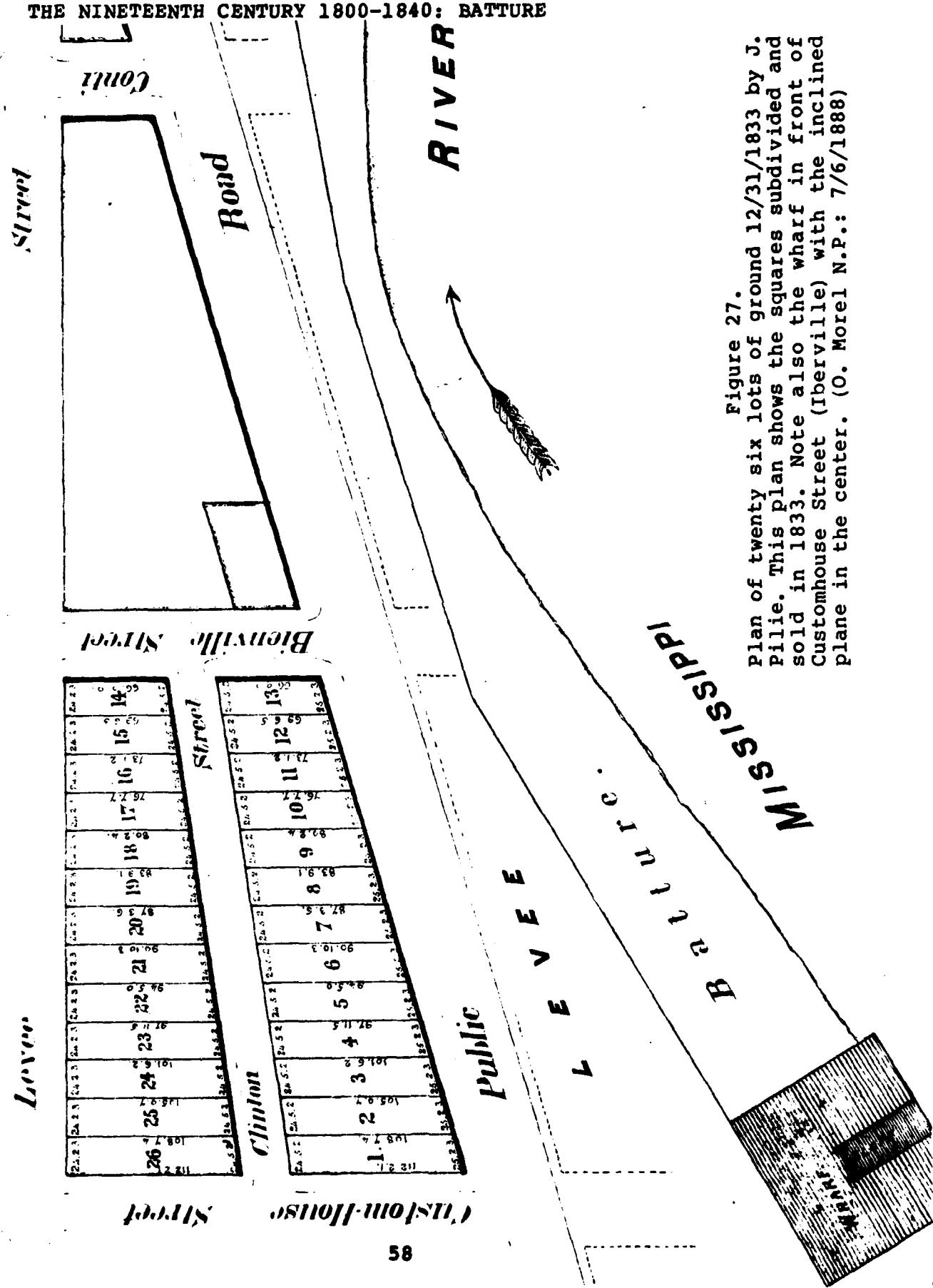


Figure 27.
Plan of twenty six lots of ground 12/31/1833 by J. Pillie. This plan shows the squares subdivided and sold in 1833. Note also the wharf in front of Customhouse Street (Iberville) with the inclined plane in the center. (O. Morel N.P.: 7/6/1888)

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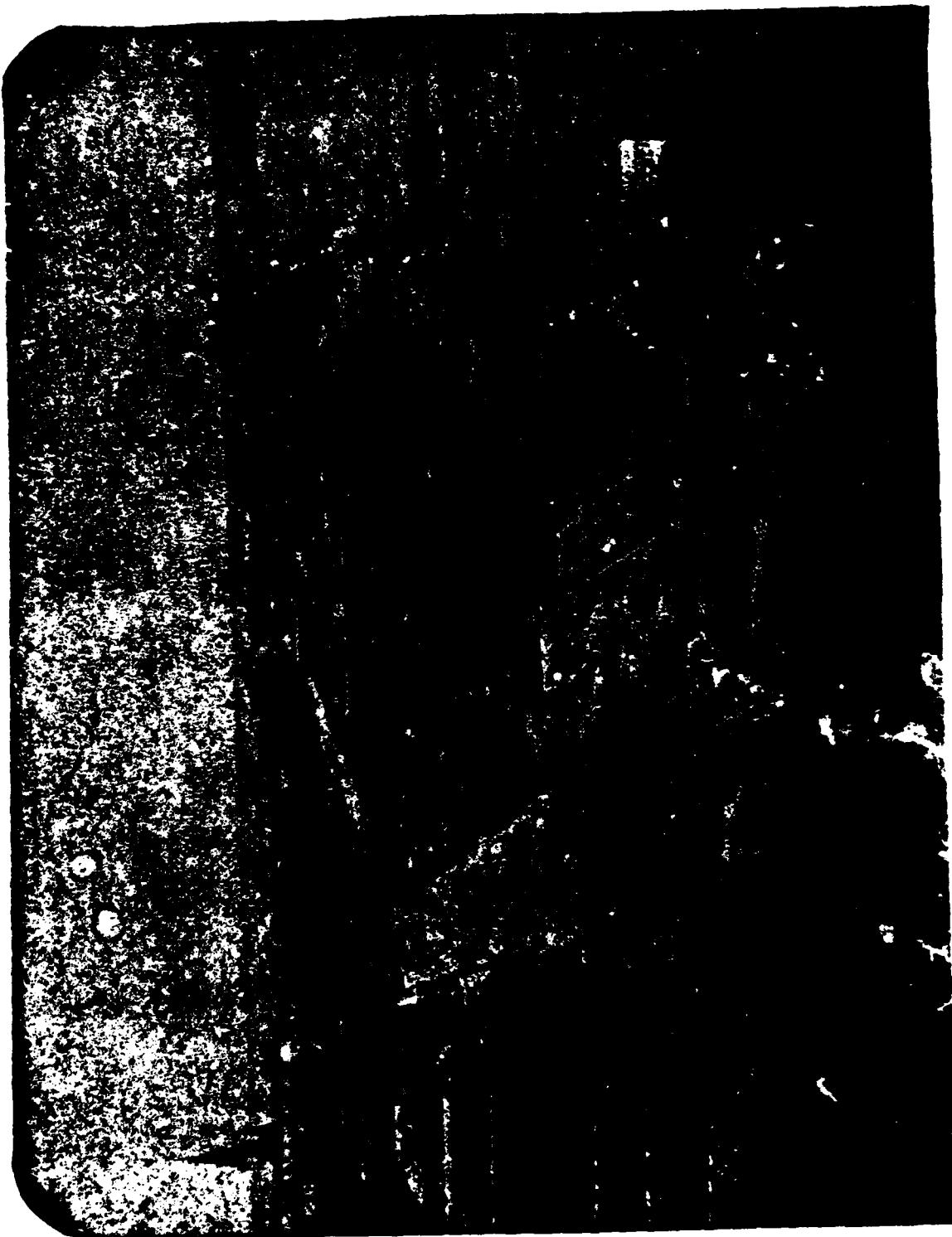


Figure 28.
"View of the river front along North Peters and Decatur Streets", c. 1860. On the left are buildings on lots sold off in 1833. The batture is bare and undeveloped just prior to the Civil War. Note the absence of railroads. (From the collections of the Louisiana State Museum)

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with the proceeds to be set aside until a final judicial decision. This came in 1836 in the case of "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Inhabitants of New Orleans, Appellants, v. The United States" Peters X, 662-738.

Pierre Derbigny first raised the question of United States ownership of the batture in the case of the Livingston claim in 1806. He lost the decision to Livingston in the Superior Court of the Territory, and casting around for some further way to oppose Livingston, seized on the theory that the United States owned it. For political reasons President Thomas Jefferson agreed with Derbigny and Jefferson used the U.S. Marshalls to keep Livingston off of the land. But the case of ownership was not litigated, because it quickly became apparent that Derbigny was wrong. The idea of a United States claim to part of the batture may have originated in Faubourg Ste. Marie, but its best case was on the quay below Canal Street.

The argument was simply that by the transfer of 1803 all property of the Spanish or French governments went to the government of the United States. The City opposed, claiming that the quay had always distinctively belonged to it as a corporate body separate from the sovereign government. After extensive briefs, argued by Senator Daniel Webster and Edward Livingston for the City, the United States Supreme Court awarded the land to the City. This decision settled the public ownership of all land in front of the French Quarter.

At the heart of many of the disputes over the batture was the need of the city for river sand. When Robert Livingston enclosed the batture in 1803 the citizens protested vehemently. Cart operators testified that for many years they had been accustomed to go the growing batture and take sand, digging large holes in the process. Each spring, however, when the river rose it quickly filled the holes providing ample new fill.

In 1831 the City began construction of a new prison behind the old part of town, but in 1836 the

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commercial and social forces associated with the French and American quarters divided the city into three municipalities. Municipality #2, the uptown American sector, promptly shut the batture down in front of its part of town in order to rebuild the wharves. Municipality #1, still attempting to complete the prison, needed 100,000 cartloads of fill in one year, and sued Municipality #2 [Resolution of Municipal #1 Council, August 10, 1836]. One of the defenses of Municipality #2 was that the commerce of their area had greatly declined in recent years because the wharves now did not reach the river. The rapid growth of the batture made steamboat landings impossible, and wharf extensions were required. The outcome of the case favored Municipality #2, and the Supreme Court ruled in 1838 that #2 had the right to extend wharves, provided that it set aside some areas for the citizens to dig fill [Municipality #1 v. Municipality #2, 12 La. 49 (March, 1838)].

THE URGE TO SUBDIVIDE

A striking feature of the takeoff period in the history of New Orleans is the large number of suburbs that were planned and laid out during the period. During the first decade of the American period of New Orleans history the city was laid out in subdivisions that shaped the city for the next century. The plans made between 1806 and 1813 virtually contained the city until near the end of the 19th century. The new suburbs of Metairie, the Lakefront, and Eastern New Orleans are products of the twentieth century.

The crafty Bertrand Gravier certainly deserves the credit as the first modern real estate promotor in New Orleans. His plan of 1788 antedated by almost two decades the expansion of the city yet set the framework of expansion. He named the major avenues parallel to the river, donated the first square for public use outside of the old city, and obeyed the dictates of geography that required the first sales to keep to the riverfront where the high land existed. Yet like the rest of the uptown developers, he missed the future growth of the batture and sold off or donated most of the front to the public.

The spirit that animated this rush to subdivide after 1803 must have been an infection of that American optimism and fertility that drove the colonists westward and brought hundreds of substantial northerners to New Orleans--John McDonogh, Judah Touro, R. D. Shepherd, Edward Livingston, Pierre Delabigarde, Judge Dominick Hall, Daniel Clark, Alexander Milne, James H. Caldwell, Samuel J. Peters, Benjamin Morgan, and James Pitot. The actual cause of the rush to subdivide was the thousands of refugees from St. Domingue, the products of a late phase in the slave uprisings on that island in the Caribbean. They had lost much, yet were determined to get it back. Because of their venturesomeness, they were destined to play an important role in shaping New Orleans' future. Their contributions to law, politics, commerce, and culture equalled or surpassed the Americans. They came to a village largely without

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cultural amenities where after eighty-five years under two colonial powers the population had only reached 10,000. Two years later in a census of 1805 the American government located 12,000 persons in New Orleans, and by 1810, due chiefly to island refugees, the city's population had swelled to 24,500. It was the largest in the South and fifth largest in the nation [Kemp 1981:59]. The French creole landowners above and below New Orleans welcomed these new immigrants and eagerly sought to sell them land.

Louisiana in 1810 had the first civil code in the western hemisphere, while three newspapers and three theaters offered the New Orleans public news, argument, drama, comedy and opera in their choice of French or English. Meanwhile a potpourri of exotic or liberal practices from freemasonry to voodoo filled the private yie quotidienne. A powerful Creole-American struggle for cultural hegemony had begun the early rounds of a clash that still echoes, and a three-caste racial system had received the die that would make New Orleans racial patterns atypical to the South and eventually the nation for over a century. Due in large part to the input of St. Domingue, French culture in New Orleans was growing to a maturity that it had never before known. For 125 years after the island influx, that culture retained its spontaneity, until coarsened into tourist fare during the mid-twentieth century.

The St. Domingans began to arrive in numbers in 1803 after the demise of Napoleon's attempt to regain the island. Many fled first to Cuba, but in 1808 and 1809 the Spanish Government sent thirty-four vessels to New Orleans bearing nearly 1800 whites, 2,000 free colored, and another 2000 slaves. By 1810 the American portion accounted for only fourteen per cent of New Orleans [Kendall 1922:I, 85].

The refugees filled the community at all economic and class levels, rentier, merchant, professional, artisan, and slave. In international politics, like most

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Frenchmen, they were also heterogeneous, both Royalist and Republican. Their great common denominator was French culture and a common experience as refugees. In local politics they couldn't help but promote Creole doctrine. They had been at it on the islands for three hundred years. They would finally prove their new loyalty to the United States, in their own way.

Among the professional class was jurist Louis Moreau-Lislet (1767-1832) who proved the outstanding leader of the refugee community. There were also attorneys Pierre Ambrose Cuvillier and Jules Davezac de Castera; physicians Ives (d. 1832) and Rene (d. 1841) LeMonnier; architects Francois (d. 1864) and Gabriel Correjolles (1780-1842); notary Marc Lafitte (1763-1837); and civil engineer Joseph Pilie. Moreau-Lislet became a leading figure in the legal dispute over whether Louisiana private law would follow civil or common procedure and substance, and provided the expertise in compiling the civilian aspects of Louisiana's law digest of 1808 and its Code Civil of 1825 [Nicaud 1973:292-305]. Jules Davezac became the first president of the College d'Orleans, founded by the Territorial Government in 1805 as Louisiana's first institution of higher learning. He probably got the appointment through the intercession of his brother-in-law Edward Livingston, then still in favor politically since the Batture Case had not yet begun. Davezac later translated Livingston's visionary penal code into French [Flory 1936:362]. Dr. Ives LeMonnier built up a flourishing medical practice and eventually became a member of the Louisiana Board of Medical Examiners. He lived in a pretentious mansion on a pivotal corner in the Vieux Carre, Royal and St. Peter. His fabled home, designed by three prominent French architects, stepped into literary fame in Cable's romances as "Sieur George's," and later received notoriety as the "skyscraper" because it was the first four-story building in New Orleans [Morazan 1961: 142; Wilson 1959:13-14]. The architects Correjolles, from Ft. Dauphine, St. Domingue, designed many prominent Vieux Carre homes,

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among them the LeCarpentier-Beauregard House, today a museum at 1113 Chartres St.

The notary Marc Lafitte, who was born and died in Bordeaux, spent twenty years at Leogane, St. Domingue, but fled to New Orleans in 1803 when LeClerc's expedition failed. After his arrival in New Orleans Lafitte practiced more than thirty years there as a prominent notary public and justice of the peace [Will of Marc Lafitte, Will Book 6/35, NOPL:12/20/1837]. Joseph Pilie arrived in New Orleans as a youth with his family and grew up on fashionable Chartres St. where his father Louis Philipe opened a hat store and later became a director of the nearby Louisiana State Bank [Morazan 1961:187]. Joseph studied civil engineering as an apprentice to the famous surveyor-engineer Barthelemy Lafon. Pilie rose to become City Surveyor of New Orleans, an important post in municipal government with a salary only a bit less than that of the mayor [Huber 1982:70-71; Reeves, "City Surveyor" 1982: Intro].

Among the more prominent merchants from St. Domingue were Bernard Duchamp, who became president of the Louisiana State Bank; Jean Baptiste Faget, a broker and wholesale grocer; Jean Gourjon, Jr., from Cap Francais, officer of the New Orleans Navigation Company and justice of the peace; Jean Gabriel Montamat, Sr. (1786-1860), officer of the Bank of New Orleans and lumber yard owner; and Jean Baptiste Eugene Germaine Musson, Canal Street merchant, builder of the famous "granite Building" (now 751 Canal St.), and grandfather of Edgar Degas [Morazan 1961:70-170; Rewald 1965: 11].

At the top of the artisan class among refugees were an intermarried family of gold and silversmiths, Pierre, Jean Marie, and Jean Baptiste Lamothe, in-laws of Jean Baptiste and Louis Gabriel Courvertie, all from St. Marc. Their simple, heavy silver pieces in traditional French style command heavier prices today [Morazan 1961:44, 132-3; Mackie 1980: 68]. There also was pharmacist Louis

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Joseph Dufilho, whose Chartres Street shop-residence is now the New Orleans Pharmacy Museum. The apothecary Antoine Amedie Peychaud also came to New Orleans where he became justly famous for his "bitters," now used world-wide. Works of Jean Baptiste Sel, a portrait and miniature painter who came to New Orleans about 1800 are today in the collection of the Louisiana State Museum [Morazan 1961:71-216; Wilson 1959:63; Harter and Tucker 1979: 26, 125].

Petits-blancs, like the professional class, arrived in New Orleans armed with skills by which they could survive, and for some, prosper. Bernard Pierre Audige (1775-1825) and Pierre Auguste Pajaud (1779-1833) worked as carpenters; Francois Ferraud (1775-1835) and Michel Desire Nicaud (1793-1840) as bakers. Rene Julien Bayard (d. 1815), a sausage-maker, settled in the distant suburb LaCourse (Lower Garden District). Jean Marie Joseph Ducayet (1788-1820) made a comfortable living as an auctioneer. H. Dufilho, Jr. was a musician; Louis Gretaïs Labarre (1770-1828) a cooper and tin-smith. Bernard Dupuy, born in 1798 at Gros Marne, was a gunsmith at a favorable location on Bourbon and Orleans Sts. Jean Jacques Auguste Guibert (1777-1832) was master of the brig "Sally," by which he managed in 1804 to bring 150 slaves into the city [Morazan 1961:1-216].

Louis Casimir Moreau Lislet was ideally equipped to lead the Creole community in its legal struggles. He had studied law and languages in Paris, where he also practiced in that den of attorneys, the Paris Parlement. He knew French, Spanish and English, a skill that landed him an appointment as an interpreter in New Orleans in July, 1805, soon after his arrival in Louisiana. That same year he co-argued the ancients' side in an important case that determined that Louisiana jurisprudence would be bound by the Spanish laws in force when the Territory was created [Nicaud 1973:282; Dargo 1975:132-33]. He co-authored the Digest of the Civil Laws Now in Force in the Territory of Orleans, which, adopted by the Territorial Legislature in 1808, became the "bedrock of Louisiana Civil Law" [Nicaud

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1973:282].

Six thousand immigrant free persons of color entered New Orleans with a heritage of skills, hard work and a background of limited freedom. At first considered a revolutionary threat, by 1815 the government reposed such confidence in them that they were able and willing to form their own battalion in the Battle of New Orleans. St. Domingan Colonel Joseph Savary organized the troop, and planter Michel Fortier outfitted them at his own expense [Christian 1965:3-48].

Free colored persons prospered in New Orleans as a distinct class, much as they had in St. Domingue. They provided the community both military and economic service, and many became wealthy. They suffered from discrimination, but failed to challenge a class structure from which they benefited in having a middle position distinct from Negro slaves.

Ubiquitous miscegenation allied the free colored to the whites of New Orleans society. Children of these unions were the chief benefactors, but free colored women frequently received economic benefits through bequests. Eugenie Glesseau, (1792-1867) a free woman of color from St. Domingue received a house on Esplanade for herself and her eight children born of her union with Jean Baptise Azereto [Will of Jean Baptiste Azereto, L. T. Caire N.P.:5/21/1841]. Jules Davezac, a refugee whose wife and children returned to France, freed by bequest the children of Rose Dubuc, f.w.c.--Jean Hypolite, Pierre Alfred and Madeleine Dubuc. To Madeleine he left all the furniture he owned [Will of Jules Davezac (de Castera), Will Book 4/302, NOPL: 10/18/1829].

Faced with an influx of Americans and St. Domingans, the landowners just above and below the city decided in 1805 to subdivide. Bernard Marigny owned 7 arpents from Barracks Street to Port Street below the city, and Marguerite Foucher, the widow of Sylvestre Delord Sarpy

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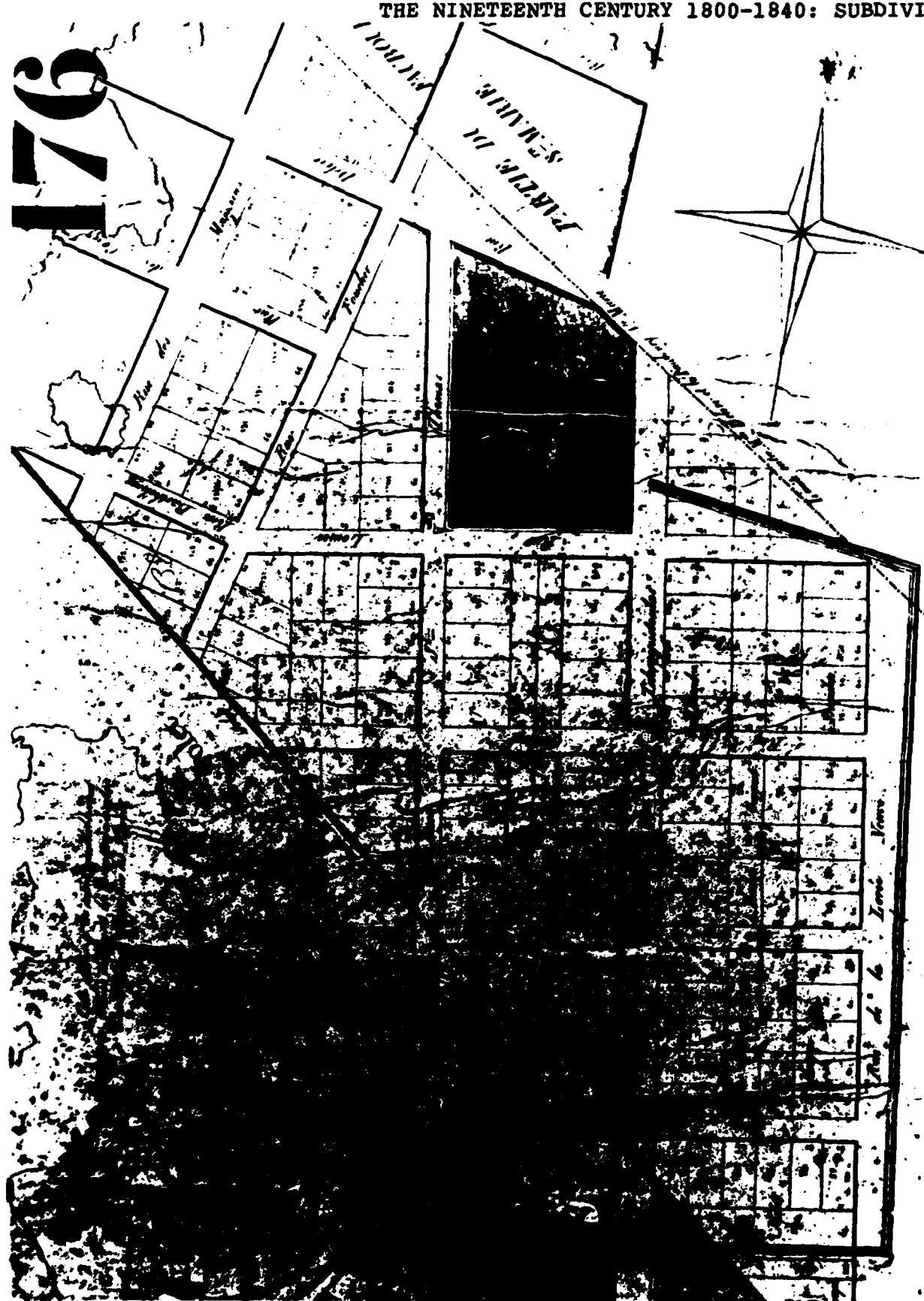


Figure 29.
Copy of the Barthélémy Lafon Plan for the Faubourg Delord, 2/6/1806. This plan shows a new levee pushed toward the river enclosing three and a half squares, nearly all of which have been sold. (Plan Book 18/1, NONA)

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owned 7 arpents just above the already established Faubourg Ste. Marie. On February 6, 1806 the surveyor Barthelemy Lafon completed a plan for the Faubourg Delord, creating 17 lots 60' x 120' across the front of the new faubourg that Madame Delord Sarpy proceeded to sell [Fig. 29]. She also built a new levee, shifting the old levee out one square and was thus the first to actually create New Levee Street. It would later be joined into the Faubourg Ste. Marie downriver and the upriver Faubourgs.

Like Gravier she sold off the front lots immediately--the extreme upriver to Jacques Larche, Square 45 to Alexander Milne, Square 46 to Benjamin Morgan, and Square 47 to Antoine Foucher and Urbain Gainennie [N. Broutin N.P.:6/30/1806]. Unlike Gravier, she wished to return to France, and the following year she sold the entire plantation to Armand Duplantier for \$107,000.

The Sarpy brothers were natives of Fumel, France who established themselves as merchants in New Orleans in the 1780's [LHC, St. Louis #1 index]. Jean Baptiste Sarpy died in 1798 and his brother Sylvestre Delord Sarpy (b. 1759) followed him the next year. Both had married into wealthy families, Sylvestre marrying Marguerite Foucher, one of the six children of Antoine Foucher and Marguerite Carriere. Her brothers were Joseph, Antoine, Pierre, and Louis Foucher. Marguerite Foucher thus became Madame Delord Sarpy and her married name was given to the Faubourg she created. The plantation itself had descended from the Jesuits to Francois Duplessis, to Narcisso de Alva, and then had become owned by Joseph Foucher, her elder brother, who at his death had willed it to his mother, Marguerite Carriere. In 1796 she sold it to the two Sarpy's, and when Jean Baptiste Sarpy died it went to Sylvestre and then to Marguerite. In fact it was much more a Foucher plantation than a Sarpy plantation.

After Marguerite's sale to Duplantier in 1807 she returned to France, but Duplantier went bankrupt, and in 1814 Madame Delord Sarpy returned to claim her lands. She

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soon returned to France, however, and for the next twelve years sold off parcels occasionally. Her two daughters married two cousins, Marguerite to Baron Andre Burthe in 1805 and Louise to Dominick F. Burthe in 1806. General Andre Burthe spent most of his time in France, but D. F. Burthe was an active developer in the Faubourg and served as his mother-in-law's agent for sales. At Marguerite's death in 1826 in Paris the daughters partitioned the remaining property. This added up to a small sliver of the batture, about 20 lots, several squares, and the rear of the plantation, the swampy portion beyond Rampart street [F. de Armas, N.P.:4/7/1827]. She had done very well in disposing of her land.

The directory of 1822 showed a booming Faubourg. William Withers and L. U. Gaiennie operated steam saws on the river in competition with the two sawmills further up in Faubourg Annunciation--that of Colonel George H. Hunter and that of John Crowninshield at New Levee and Orange. Several sea captains lived in the Faubourg, along with Auguste Guendon, a victualler. Several brickyards occupied front squares, notably the growing batture at square 28 run by Robert Spriggs with Asa B. Stoddard and Jesse Wilkins. Frederick Beckmann sold hydraulic cotton presses and operated a tobacco warehouse. Daniel Gravel was a copper smith, William Geerlings a painter, and Lot Chadwick a mill wright at Wither's sawmill. John Brevoort ran a foundry near Hunter's saw mill and Robert Norris was the founder at Wither's. Oliver Wooley operated as a blacksmith on Tchoupitoulas and John Emery made shingles at the corner of Suzette and St. Thomas. The Faubourg was occupied by people who worked there, the directory lists few white collar workers. Antoine Foucher had just moved into his square and was the only gentlemen listed in the directory [City Directory, 1822]. The neighborhood contained only two taverns, an unusually low number, but one perhaps indicative of a general sparseness of population, of

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workshops and buildings spread out on large lots with no or few personal residential structures.

In point of time the next subdivision appeared below New Orleans on the estate of Bernard Marigny. This young man, yet a minor, was the brother-in-law of Jacques Francois Livaudais, and the heir of a large fortune. He determined to make a name for himself by launching a real estate venture--subdividing the lands his father had purchased just before his death, the site of the Dubreuil estate and the sawmill canal. Marigny hired Nicolas de Finiels, a French engineer attached to the last remaining detachment of Spanish forces in New Orleans, and Finiels completed his plan on March 16, 1806, just before Governor Claiborne succeeded in having the Spaniards evicted to Pensacola. About this time Marigny's brother, Jean Baptiste, died, and he inherited half of the estate upriver between the Saulet plantation and the Nuns. Since Mrs. Jacques Francois Livaudais was the other heir, and the lands were not susceptible to partition, Marigny sold the entire estate to Livaudais to concentrate his interests below the city. In November, 1806, Marigny hired Barthelemy Lafon to lay out the Finiels plan, a job Lafon worked at slowly for the next seven years [Wilson 1974:8-9]. Most importantly, Marigny donated the batture from Barracks to Enghien to the public, clearing the way for the many later public uses [J. Cuvillier N.P.:2/22/1838]. One of Marigny's not so public spirited acts was to reserve a strip of land only 3 feet wide along the lower boundary of the Faubourg for the purpose of preventing the attachment of streets below the Faubourg [Nott vs. Daunoy et. al., December 1823, 2 Martin (N.S.) 1]. The Faubourg prospered as a residential area, and in 1836 became the Third Municipality, one of three coequal parts of the City of New Orleans.

The Commons existed between the Marigny estate and the City, a portion of land 2 arpents and 12 toises (432' F.M.) in width according to legal descriptions. In reality it was a wedge of land with the point at the river bank. Its

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center came to be Esplanade Avenue with the land between Barracks Street and Esplanade on one side and a line (known as Gayoso's line) one hundred feet below Esplanade as the lower limit. In the 1740's and 1750's Dubreuil maintained an extensive house on the Commons, but in 1760 Governor Kerlerec constructed a palisade down the middle of the property. This quickly degenerated and the property reverted to private use, but in 1792 Governor Carondelet constructed Fort St. Charles at the river immediately above the Dubreuil saw mill canal. This lies astride the foot of present day Esplanade Avenue. The proposed floodwall passes to the river side of the fort approximately 100 feet. Pierre Marigny, Bernard's father, purchased the plantation of Laurent Sigur in 1798, but its extent (5 arpents 6 toises or 990' A.M.) was limited to the area below the Gayoso line [Christovich 1977:5-9].

These first two plans of subdivision drawn during the boom period of the first decade of the 19th century were followed by a third on May 14, 1807, a year later. Livaudais and Robin de Logny retained Barthelemy Lafon to draw the plan for their plantations and Lafon reworked the plan of Faubourg Delord and Saulet to provide for a common pattern of streets [Fig. 30]. He placed the public squares on the dividing line between the Robin de Logny and Livaudais property so that each bore the expense of the donation equally. These included a market on the river, the public square known as the Place de Annunciation, and the coliseum, now a park. The market opened onto New Levee, the river front until the 1850's. The market square did not become a market but instead developed commercially.

The batture in front of Faubourg Annunciation quickly became a haven for flatboats, and later steamboats. The dispute over the ownership of this batture from 1807 to 1867 forced it to remain open land. The 1830 plans for the new levee [Fig. 30] already show that the batture in front of these Faubourgs was well established, but though a Front

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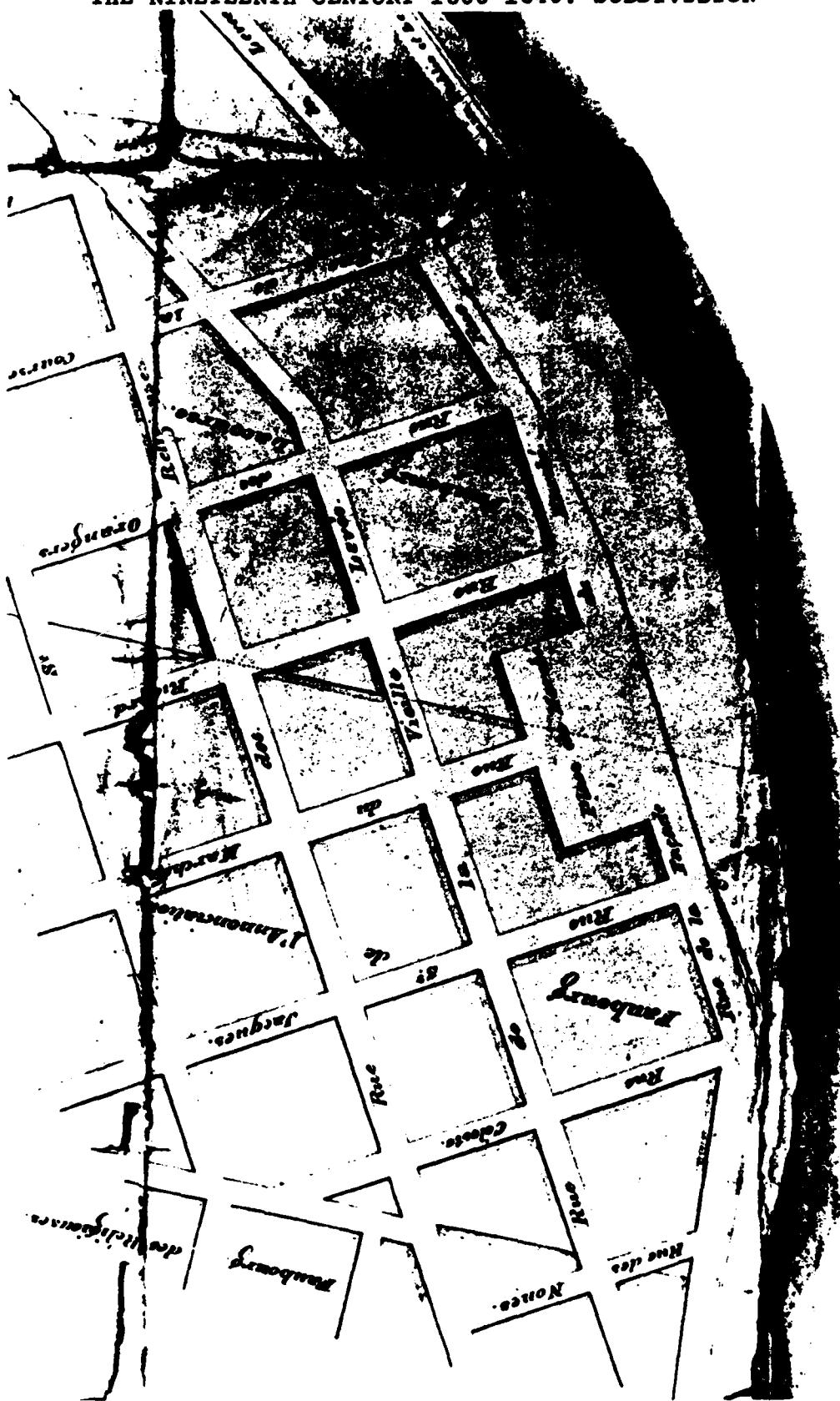


Figure 30.
Detail of Plan of Public Road and Levee...8/5/1830 by J. Pillie.
This plan shows Faubourg Lacourse, Faubourg Annunciation, and
Faubourg Religieuse at the upriver end. Notice that in 1830 the
levee did not extend across these upriver Faubourgs, leaving an
undeveloped batteure. On the upriver side of Place du Marche was
the Clement distillery and later a cotton press. The floodwall
alignment would locate slightly in the river at that point.
(Supreme Court Collection, UNO)

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Figure 31.
Plan of the Faubourg Annunciation on the left and Faubourg Religieuse on the right, divided by Rue Ste. Felicite.
(M. de Armas N.P.: 5/23/1814)

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street levee was built below at Faubourg Saulet, it did not extend across Faubourg Annunciation for decades. Wharves were built across the front of the faubourg in the 1830's.

Three years later the Ursuline Nuns decided to sell their small plantation above Livaudais' Faubourg Annunciation, probably to get money to enable them to purchase their new plantation downriver (later the site of the Industrial Canal). Between 18 and 42 slaves worked the plantation that produced milk, vegetables, rice, corn and fuel for the Convent in town. A free man of color named Jacob oversaw the operation [Jacob et al v. Ursuline Nuns, 2 Martin (O.S.) 269 (Fall, 1812)]. Joseph De Ville Degoutin Bellechasse purchased most of the tract for \$40,000, and retained Barthelemy Lafon to do the survey [Fig. 31]. Four years later Bellechasse turned the lots over to Livaudais to sell, but Livaudais soon turned them back.

Jacques Tanesse laid out the next suburb, Faubourg Treme, in 1812. It was located behind the city.

The following year, 1813, the elderly widow of Joseph Milhet and of Jacinto Panis, Marguerite Wiltz, decided to subdivide her 10 arpents [Fig. 32]. She hired F. V. Potier to execute a plan that laid out the streets from St. Andrew to slightly above Soraporu in a series of 24 front lots 60' F.M. in width by depths of about 160'. Widow Wiltz named the principal avenue Cours Panis, later Jackson Avenue. Practically all of the front lots were sold immediately and the purchasers were Americans--Patrick Wale, Jr., Alexander Hamilton Smith, and John N. Smith [Pedesclaux N.P.:5/26/1813; 7/10/1813; 9/15/1813].

Widow Panis soon died and her lands passed to her daughter by her first marriage, Catiche Milhet, the widow of Pierre George Rousseau. She sold the entire estate to John Poultney, and evidently some of the lots previously sold had reverted to the estate. Poultney promptly died and the estate was eventually seized by creditors and sold at auction in 1824. Seven years later the former plantation became part of the City of Lafayette.

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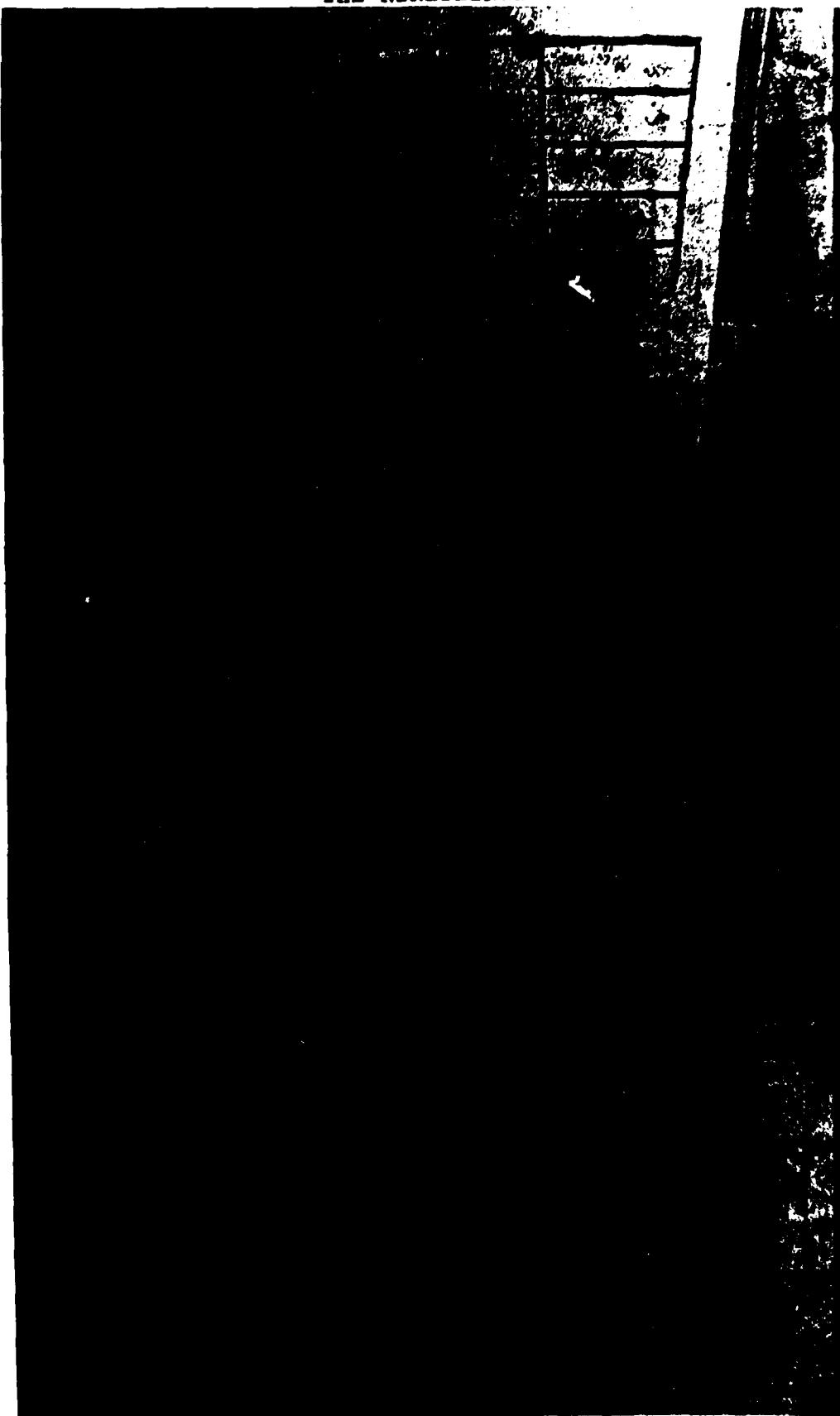


Figure 32. Plan of Faubourg Panis showing the Public Road, levee, and original lots across the front of the subdivision in 1813. Lots 1 and 2 are omitted, since they are situated on the square below Adele and above St. Andrew. Lots 3 through 24 are shown. Jackson Avenue is the tree-lined boulevard in the center. (Plan Book 18/2, NONA)

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LEVEES, REVETMENTS, AND WHARVES

The 18th century levees were comparatively simple mounds of earth along the river bank at the high water mark. The takeoff period of New Orleans history witnessed the application of engineering to the levees in order to strengthen them and to provide for the convenience of commerce. Levee enhancement was accomplished by the construction of revetments, wooden board faces to the levees. From these new constructions it quickly became apparent that docks could be extended into the river that would facilitate the mooring of ships and most particularly the unloading of them. The first third of the 19th century witnessed an explosion of wharf construction.

In 1805 the levee was three and a half feet high, fifteen to twenty feet broad at the top, widening towards its base [Peters 1853: X, 531-2]. A broad road extended along the top of the levee, barely a hundred feet from the water. Small stands of trees grew from it at several points, notably at the Place d'Armes (Jackson Square) and in front of the Marigny home which was just below the Marigny water mill, now Elysian Fields. Ship captains lashed their vessels to the muddy bank that rose out of the water, or if at all convenient, to other vessels [J. L. Bouqueto de Woieseri, "A View of New Orleans Taken from the Plantation of Marigny", Chicago Historical Society].

The first levee to be moved in the 19th century was above the city on the lands of Madame Delord Sarpy. In 1807 she moved her levee forward from Tchoupitoulas street to just beyond a new street 360' closer to the river that later came to be called New Levee [See plan on p. 65]. Much later it became S. Peters Street after the American entrepreneur Samuel J. Peters. The new levee was an isolated projection, since the dispute over the Faubourg Ste. Marie batture delayed construction activity downriver. Accordingly the new levee had to be boxed in on each side with short levees extending back to the old Tchoupitoulas levee [Plan

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of B. Lafon, 2/6/1806; Municipality No. 2 v. Orleans Cotton
Press, April, 1841, 18 La. 128].

In 1810 the City installed a solid wooden facing along the riverside of the levee in front of three squares between St. Louis and St. Ann Streets. Piles a foot square, driven fourteen feet deep supported this first revetment [Louisiana Gazette, September 20, 1810].

At this time the City adopted an ordinance specifying the proportions of a levee. For small levees a levee had to have five feet at the base for every foot of height, and for levees designed to hold three feet or more of water the requirement was six to seven feet in breadth for each foot of height. Every levee was to be at least one foot over high water, and to have a flat top equal to at least half of its width. Thus a levee intended to hold four feet of water would have to be five feet high, thirty feet wide, with a walking space on top of fifteen feet [Augustin 1831: 34].

In 1810 the City Council adopted an ordinance for the movement and reveting of the levee in front of Faubourg Marigny. Four years previously Marigny had donated the batture to the City with a levee that was 78' from the property line and 15' wide at the lower end, decreasing to only 7' wide at the upper end in front of Marigny's house. The city proposed to widen it and move to 100' from the front property line. The city let a contract to Lambert Detry for the revetment work that called for essentially a wooden wall held up by posts 10 to 20' long and 6" to 8" square. Nine years later this revetment had to be redone, and another contract was let for \$3,000 to revet all 1,300 feet of Faubourg Marigny. Joseph Pilie's plans for this work were essentially the same as that done further upriver at the time, discussed below. Yet two years later a third contract had to be let to Joseph Reeves for \$2,190 calling for the construction of a Counter Levee 620' long extending up from Engien Street to Mandeville Street. This counter levee was to be set 12' outside of the existing revetment on

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posts 15' long, 6" square, set 4'2" apart. The contract called for 150 posts, 75 keys (horizontal connectors to inside revetment), 37 1/2 stringers notched two inches into the posts, 37 1/2 caps, and about 7,000 boards for facing [New Orleans Municipal Papers, Box 7, Folders 1 & 2, TU].

Local engineering for levee revetment showed increased sophistication between 1812 and 1820. Surveyor Tanesse designed a modified revetment to be placed in front of the Meat Market situated before Jackson Square in 1812.

Coupe de la Chaypente pour servir au revetement de la face de la berge. Vers Boulard. Le tout ville.

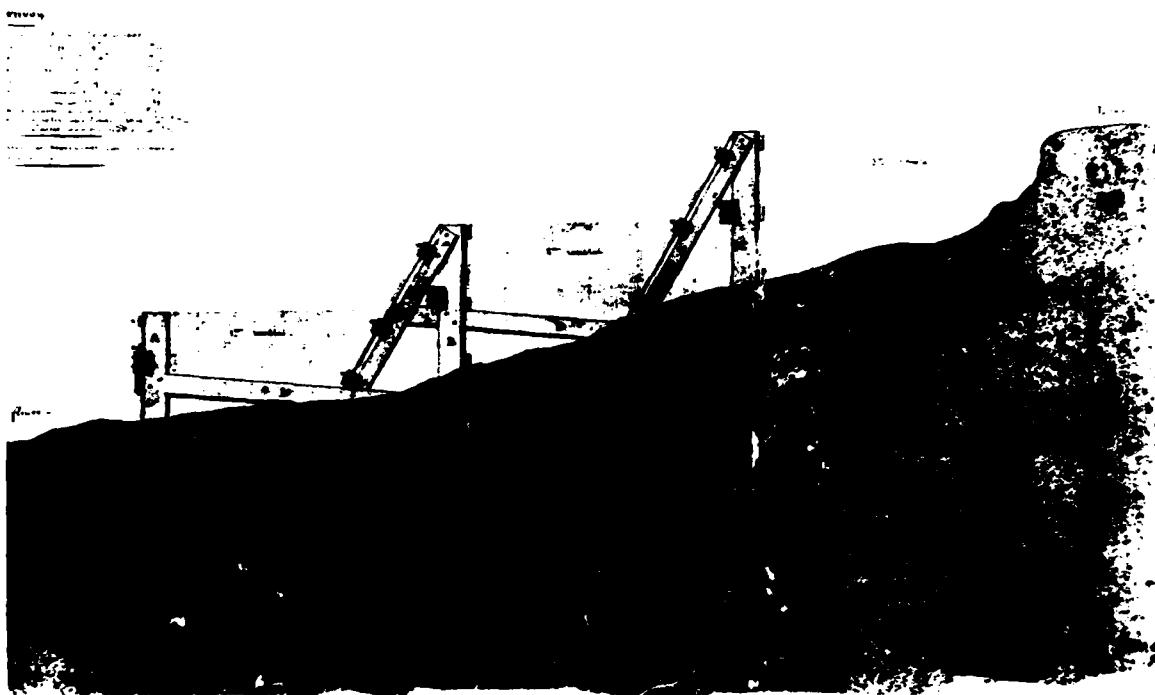


Figure 33.

"Cross section of Woodwork serving as a Revetment for the levee in front of the Meat Market of this City." New Orleans, 9/21/1812. J. Tanesse. This three-step plan accomodates varying river heights. (NOPL)

Tanesse's plan for this revetment [Fig. 33] shows that the difference between mean low water and the top of the levee was ten feet. The Surveyor proposed driving three rows of posts parallel to the levee fifteen feet apart as the framework for the works. This design created three steps in front

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of the levee. The outside posts were thirteen feet long (vertically), the middle seventeen, and the inside twenty-two feet. Fifteen foot horizontal stringers tied the rows together. The structure just touched the low water mark, and it was expected that alluvium would accumulate behind each row of posts and thus build out the front of the levee in a stepped shape. The same year Tanesse did an identical plan for revetment work in front of the Maison Fortier [New Orleans Municipal Papers, Box 7, Folder 1, TU].

In 1818 the City of New Orleans undertook to rebuild the levee, making it substantially wider. The new works measured one hundred and forty feet wide along the upper part of the city tapering down to sixty-six feet at Jackson Square. Using plans prepared by city Surveyor Joseph Pilie the city moved the levee riverward between Toulouse and Canal Streets, and laid out N. Peters Street (formerly Public road), extending Iberville, Bienville, and Conti to N. Peters which lay along the foot of the new levee [See Plan of Floodwall Site: 1827, and Peters].

After development of the new widened levee, the batture outside of it continued to grow, but soft, uneven spots remained. Parts of the new levee, especially between St. Louis and Toulouse, threatened to crumble into the river. In response the City then undertook its first significant construction work along the river for which the potential exists for archeological remains. The work consisted of wooden revetments built along the outside edge of the levee, according to plans prepared by City Surveyors Jacques Tanesse and Joseph Pilie [Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library].

Within the next three years [1819 and 1821] new City Surveyor Joseph Pilie designed two plans which continued the principal of controlling the shape of alluvium deposits between river and levee. In 1819 he prepared a plan for a simple revetment [Fig. 34] designed just to hold back the levee without affecting the shape of the river bottom in front of it. This revetment stood up at about 80 degrees,

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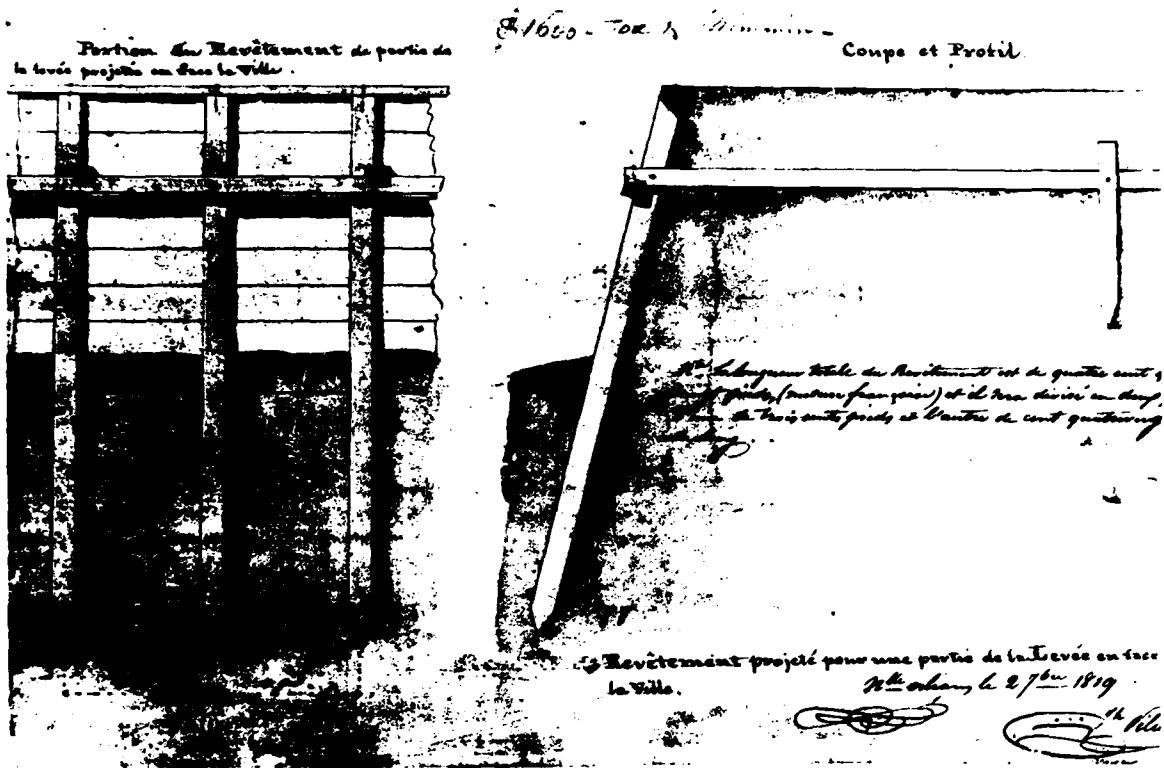


Figure 34.

Proposed revetment for a part of the levee in front of the city, 9/2/1819. J. Pilie. This plan creates an almost vertical exterior wall, with an interior support planted inside the levee. (NOPL)

reinforced in the rear by horizontal stringers buried in the levee and anchored to posts set back about 12 feet. In the fall of 1820, following the compromise over the Faubourg Ste. Marie batture, the City Surveyor drew specifications and plans for the movement of the levee in front of that Faubourg. The plans were executed by a private company, A. Gorham and John Rust, hired by the riparian owners according to the settlement. The revetment plan duplicated that designed by Pilie in 1819 with 18' to 22' piles set 4' 2" apart, wooden facing on the inside against the earth of the levee, and a major horizontal front stringer connecting the piles approximately two feet from the top of the revetment. The reinforcing stringers buried in the levee every second pile or about ever 8' tied into this major front stringer. Across the top of the piles ran a smaller

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beam known as the "chapeau" or cap. Pilie calculated that about half of the posts length would extend into the river bottom, and about half, or ten feet, would contain facing for the levee. This plan was slightly heavier than the Faubourg Marigny revetment.

In 1821 Pilie drew a much more ambitious batture recapture revetment plan [Fig. 35] in which he abandoned the Tanesse 1812 step design for a much wider and more ambitious even-slope plan. He had the levee face cut off vertically at low water and reinforced it with a vertical revetment twelve

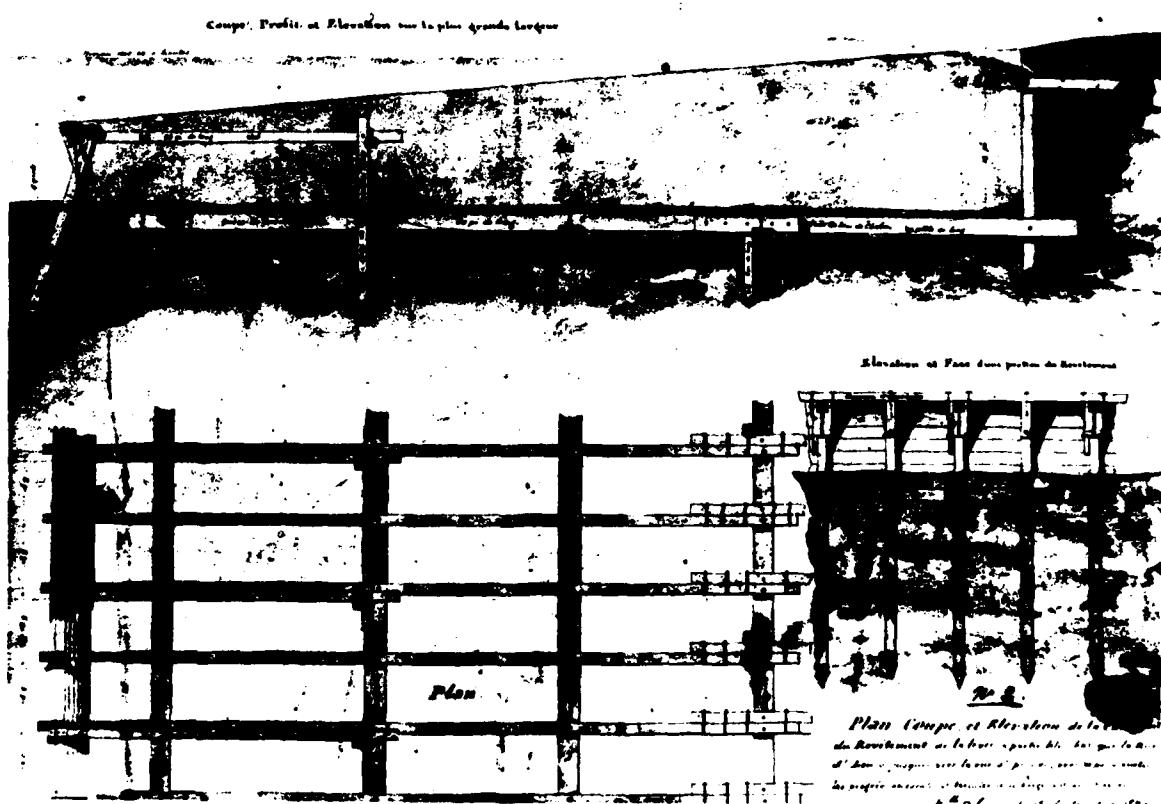


Figure 35.
"Plan, Cross-section, and Elevation of the Woodwork for the revetment of the levee to begin at the lower side of St. Louis Street to St. Peter Street; proposed to halt cave-in's and to aid the unloading of ships", 9/15/1821. J. Pilie. This elaborate structure actually creates new batture on top of a rib structure between two vertical post structures.
(NOPL)

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feet high. Long horizontal stringers were laid in the mud, extended out approximately eighty-five feet into the water. At their outboard ends a six-foot angled framework caught and trapped settling alluvium. The final effect was a small grade beginning at a six foot drop off [Joseph Pilie, "Plan, Cross Section, and Elevation of the Woodwork for the Revetment of the levee from the lower side of St. Louis Street to St. Peter Street; projected to avert cave-in's and to facilitate the unloading of ships," September 15, 1821]

Economic growth as well as batture growth in the 1820's was so swift that within a few years the new levee in front of Faubourg Ste. Marie was inadequate for the commercial needs of the city. In 1828 Pilie designed a new revetment from Bienville Street upriver as far as Delord. This work doubled the width of the levee, creating a wooden surface on the out edge of the levee and served as the base from which ten wharves could be projected into the river. The revetment work evened out the uneven batture buildup. It was somewhat heavier than the earlier revetment by providing a double set of front horizontal stringers tieing the piles together. This enabled a double set of rear supports within the levee to facilitate the pressure of water on the front facing [Joseph Pilie, September 5, 1828, MaM 828/1 and MaM 829/3, NOPL].

In 1833 the upriver faubourgs of Religieuse, Panis and Livaudias formed the City of Lafayette and one of the new city's first tasks was to care for its levees. Erosion on the levee at the point of the bend of the river led to a report by Surveyor Benjamin Buisson in February, 1835. Shortly afterwards the Lafayette Council passed an ordinance calling for the construction of 2,200 feet of levee from First Street to St. Andrew. The embankment was to be supported on sunken cypress pillars, and the 40'-wide levee street was to be on top [Briede 1937:933].

The introduction of wharves to the port of New Orleans was an important event of the takeoff period. Wharves were such a new idea in New Orleans that the French

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840: WHARVES

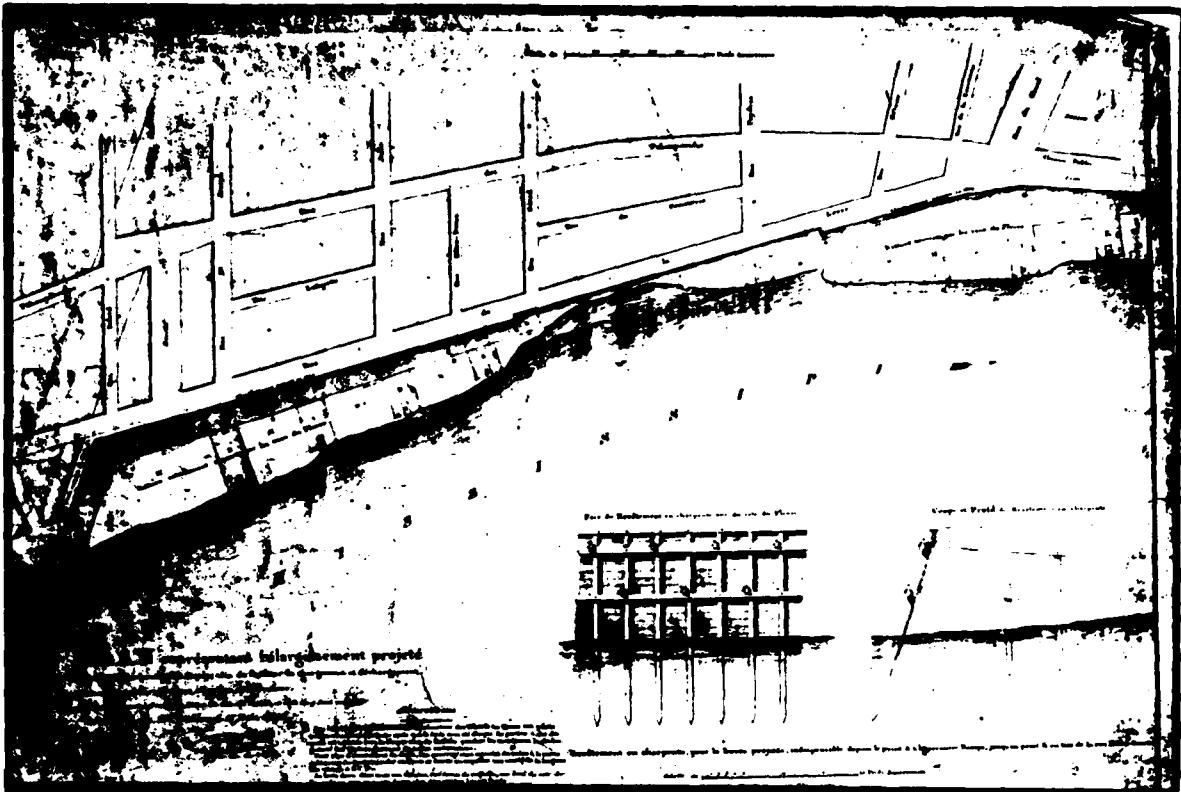


Figure 36.

"Plan showing the proposed enlargement of the levee in front of Faubourg Ste. Marie to facilitate the loading and unloading of steamboats, 'chalans,' and other shipping. Done pursuant to a resolution of the City Council dated the 9th of June, current. New Orleans, June 15, 1827. J. Pilie." In 1820 a small levee was erected across the front of the Faubourg pursuant to the compromise in the batture suit of that year. Subsequent to this plan the levee was widened and ten wharves erected. Canal Street is upper right. Notice the large revetment with two sets of internal supports, lower right. (NOPL)

did not have a good name for them, and adopted the method of calling them, even in French, "jettees ou warfs." Occasionally they were referred to as "quay," but the real quay of France were long continuous structures of stone, while the early New Orleans wharfs stuck out from the river banks like fingers. The earliest extant plan for a commercial wharf within the City Archives dates to 1824. This wharf contained a massive central mooring post, with heavy structural reinforcing [Plan, J. Pilie, July 31,

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1824]. In 1827, 1828, and 1829 Surveyor Pilie designed a series of wharf plans on a new principle, one that emphasized ease of loading and unloading [Fig. 36, 37]. The new element was a sloping ramp cut into the wharf leading down almost to low water level. According to legends on these plans (translated), the wharves were "to facilitate the loading and unloading of ships, steam-boats, chalans, and other craft, whether the water be high or low."

Pilie's 1827 plan outlined a wharf in Faubourg Marigny several hundred feet long, with six sloping cuts for loading. The 1828 and 1829 plans were for hundred-foot wide wharves intended for the newly reveted land between Delord

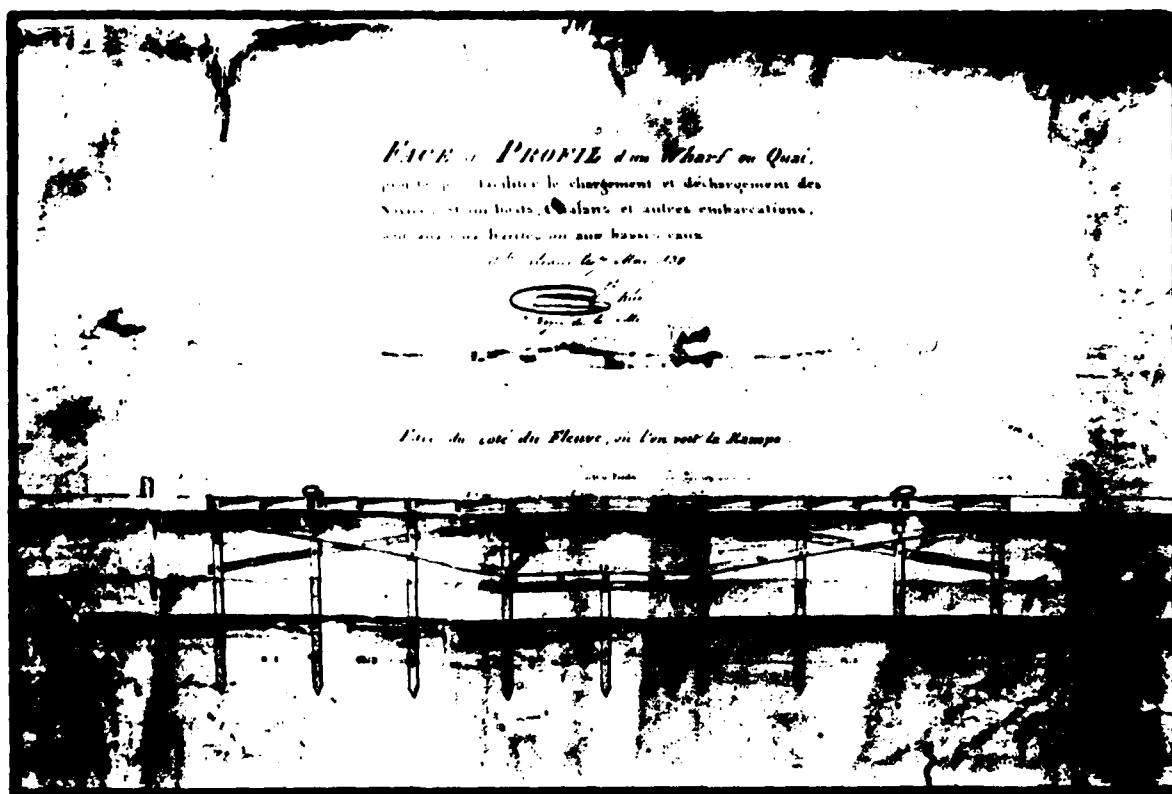


Figure 37.

"Front and profile of a wharf or quay proposed to facilitate the loading and unloading of ships, steamboats, 'chalans,' and other shipping, whether the water be high or low. New Orleans, May 7, 1830. J. Pilie."

This is the front view of one of the ten wharves proposed for the Faubourg Ste. Marie and copied elsewhere. It shows the "Rampe" that was intended to permit unloading at different water heights. (NOPL)

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[Howard Avenue] and Bienville. The wharves projected from the top of the levee 78 to 170 feet, evidently just as far out as the low water mark. Each wharf had an inclined plane in front center. By 1833 the wharf at Custom House Street had been constructed as shown by the Joseph Pilie survey of that year prepared for the City's appeal to the Supreme Court in the batture case [Octave Morel, N.P., July 6, 1888].

A plan, section and profile drawn by Joseph Pilie in 1831 shows an eighteen foot wide flat wharf extending about sixty feet into the river. The Surveyor intended these wharves for the important early docking points at Toulouse, St. Peter, and Esplanade. The wharves rested on pilings thirty-four feet long, with a X pattern of trusses between each set of piles. These initial wharves were narrow projections into the river, less ambitious than the massive wharves of a few years later that extended along the river for hundreds of feet [Plan, section, and profile of a wharf projected in front of Toulouse, St. Peter, and Esplanade, 10th September 1831].

The City enacted numerous ordinances regulating the use of the rapidly developing port. Throughout the 19th century its boundaries were roughly congruent with the city itself, and it was not until 1888 that the Port included riverfront outside of the Parish of Orleans. Sailing vessels approaching the docks were required to anchor 360' from shore and top their yards and run in their sprit sail yard fore and aft. At the levee they were to moor to the posts provided within the dock. Vessels in the first row were to tie securely enough to hold boats tying outside of them, and ships in the third row were to drop at least one anchor [Augustin 1830]. Throughout the century abandoned vessels were a constant problem. In the 1820's the Mayor was given the power to seize vessels abandoned and owing wharfage duties and sell them at auction.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

The crop that launched the takeoff of the New Orleans economy in the period from 1800 to 1840 was cotton. Yet it was not so much cotton as that New Orleanians devised an efficient way to sell and handle cotton. The cotton factor, the agent of the planter, is a well-known figure in the economic history of the South. Less well known is the cotton press, the device that lowered the price of Southern cotton and made it not only competitive, but dominant in the world markets. The press was primarily a storage area, a series of warehouses shaped around a square, with an open receiving ground in the center. Along one of the sides of the square the warehouse was raised two stories to hold a large press, like a clamp, that squeezed bales of cotton down in size so that more bales could fit in a hold of a ship. This significantly reduced shipping costs of cotton, a major factor in the success of the Southern cotton industry. The cotton press was like the cotton gin to the South,



Figure 38.
Inside the yard of a cotton press, showing the low warehouses surrounding the open courtyard. (Englehardt 1894: 18,
courtesy Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library)

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840: INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

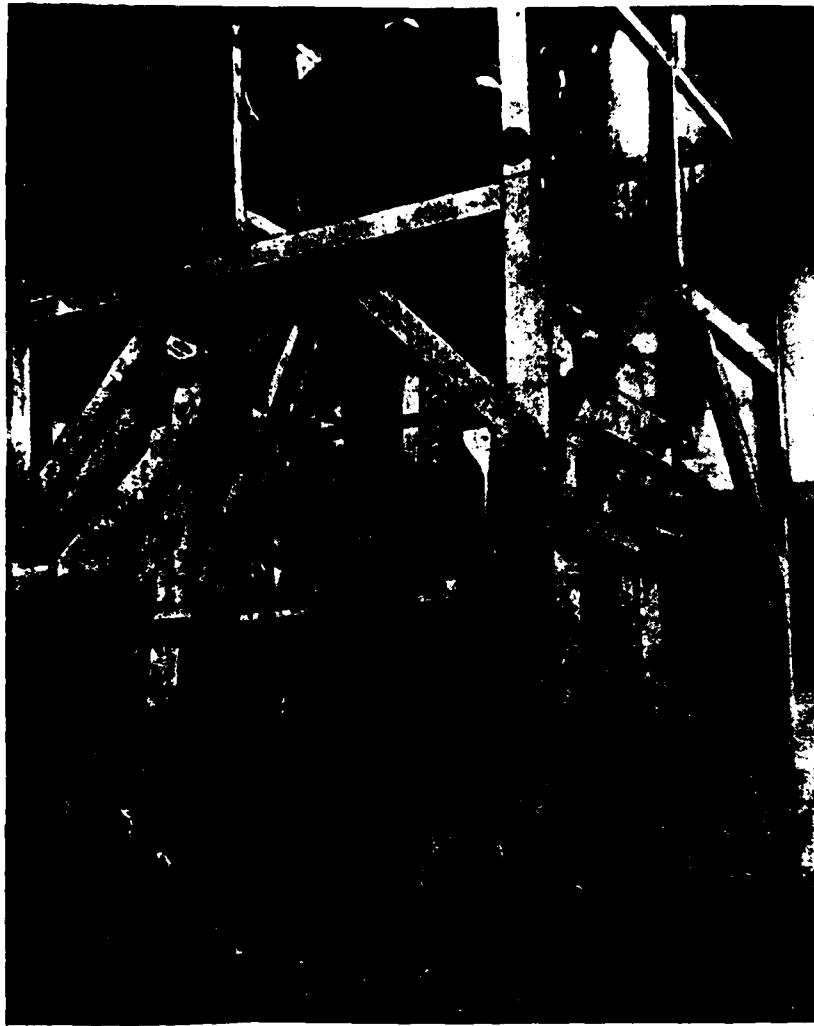


Figure 39.
A massive late nineteenth century compress.
(Englehardt 1894: 92, courtesy Louisiana
Collection, Tulane University Library)

something of a miraculous mechanical device that made sense and money. Throughout the ante-bellum age Southerners tinkered with both machines, trying to improve both, filing patents and announcing breakthroughs [See various issues of De Bow's Review for 1840's and 1850's]. The cotton press generally evolved from screw press, a lever press, to a hydraulic press, with the motive power supplied initially by animals and by 1830 the steam engine.

The date of the first cotton press in New Orleans has not been established. Certainly one of the earliest is the Freret press, established about 1819. It burned on

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August 1, 1830, consuming with it 2100 bales of cotton plus bagging and bale rope. This press was operated by the elder James Freret on the square bounded by Carondelet, Union, Baronne and Perdido. In 1836 the Second Municipality, in an effort to put the land back into commerce, in effect purchased the land and sold it in small lots, guaranteeing to the Freret brothers a minimum of \$350,000 for the land [Municipality #2 v. Hennen, March 1840, 14 La. 559].

Nine cotton presses dominated the area of the Faubourg Ste. Marie, now the Central Business District, in 1830. Rillieux's press stood at Tchoupitoulas and Poydras. John Linton operated one on Magazine between Gravier and Poydras and across Poydras stood another one. On Camp street across Poydras was a press operated by mules and horses that supplied the power to compress the cotton. Palfrey owned a press at the corner of Camp and Gravier. Hart's press occupied the corner of Common and St. Charles, and General William DeBuy's press stood at the present site of the Masonic Building, 333 St. Charles. The Freret sons ran a press on St. Charles between Perdido and Poydras. Small houses for the workers stood between the spacious warehouses where the profits of the city were made [Picayune, 2/25/1880].

In the next ten years these presses moved slowly out of the central area, concentrating particularly in the front of the Faubourg Delord and Saulet. By 1838 there were 13 cotton presses in the city, and 12 of them were in the Second Municipality. Four of the 13 presses faced the river, the Lower Steam Cotton Press at Press Street, the Orleans, the Mississippi on the square bounded by Front, Henderson, Robin and S. Peters, and the Baxter Cotton Press on the square bounded by Market, S. Peters, Richard and Tchoupitoulas. The Baxter had replaced the earlier Clement Distillery on that site. These presses all had their own wharves where steamboats congregated in droves. The Union Press stood between the Orleans and the Mississippi presses, one block further back from the river, and behind it two

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blocks was the Louisiana Press.

The Freret's moved their press and cotton yard, but remained in the central business district along with the two presses belonging to W. & P. Collins located along Magazine Street. The press of H. J. Palfrey had moved to Delord Street, between Constance and Annunciation, uptown side. The other two presses were small ones belonging to J. Armors and McNair, both located on Constance near Annunciation Square.

The Orleans Cotton Press was the greatest of the institutions, designed by Charles F. Zimpel in 1832 [Fig. 40]. It was opened in 1835 after an expenditure of \$753,558 [Directory of 1838].

Downriver the first and only cotton press prior to the Civil War was the Levee Steam Cotton Press [Fig. 41]. In 1831 a partnership by that name purchased one and half arpents on the river between St. Ferdinand and Montegut from Delphine Macarty, the sister of Louis Barthelemy Macarty who owned the three arpents just downriver [Felix de Armas N.P.: 7/26/1831]. She was run out of New Orleans in April, 1834, after fire burned her home in the French Quarter on Royal Street. In the house on an attic floor were discovered a half dozen or more slaves chained and exhibiting the signs of the most dreadful torture. It was quickly discovered that this was her regular pastime. She fled to Paris. Delphine Macarty had been twice widowed, once by Jean Blanque, an active and distinguished young Frenchman who had come to New Orleans in 1803, and later by Louis Lalaure, a doctor whose name she defaced in 1834.

The Levee Steam Cotton Press association immediately began purchasing slaves to construct its warehouses, and in the years of 1831 to 1832 purchased hundreds from local planters or slave traders from Virginia. These slaves were normally those with a skill such as sawyer, blacksmith, drayman, carpenter, brickyard worker, or ox driver [Grima Family Papers, TU]. In February of 1832 the

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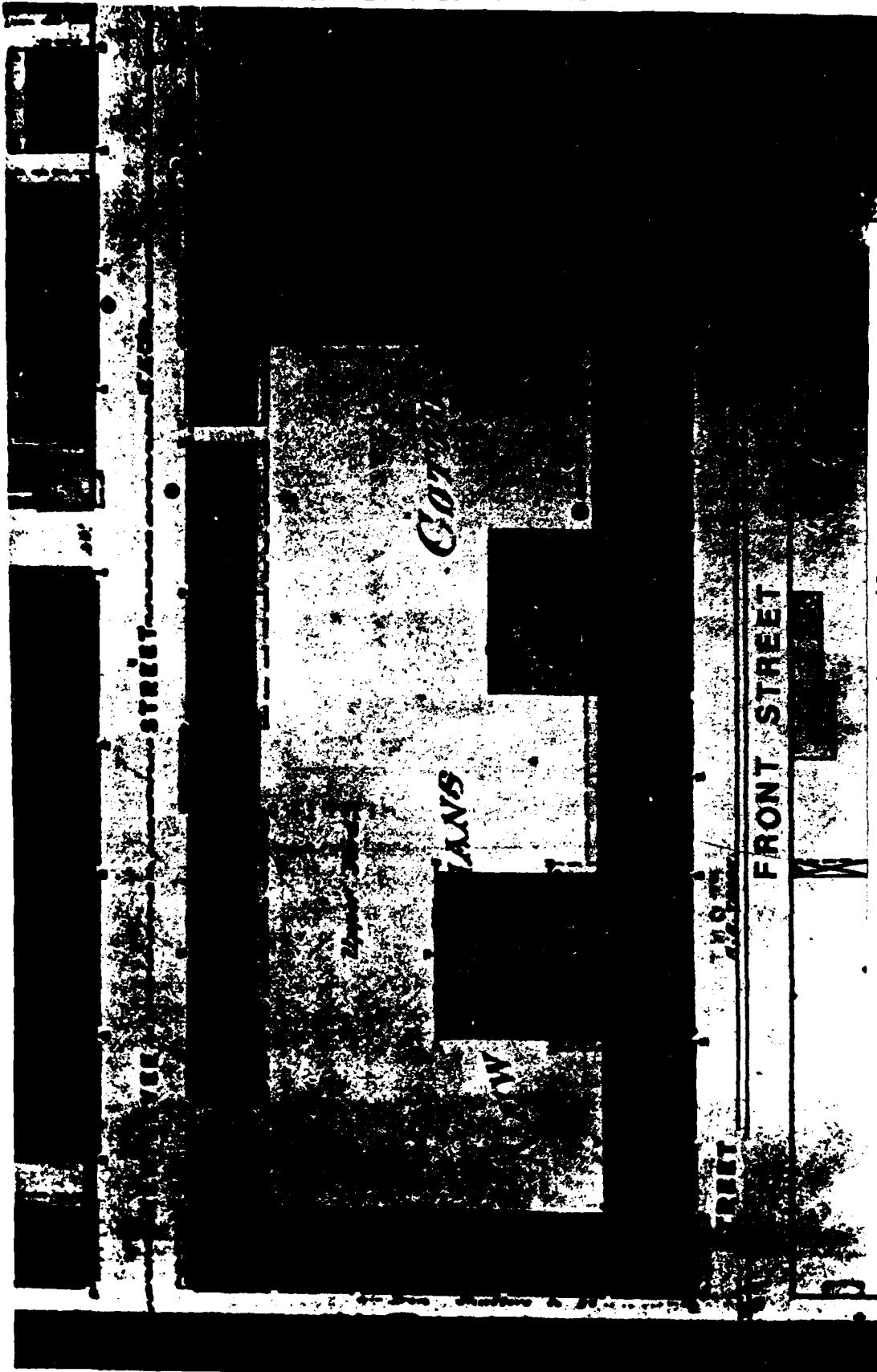


Figure 40.
The plan of the New Orleans Cotton Press as it was in
the late nineteenth century. The press itself is on the
Front Street side. The floodwall will pass along Front
Street across from the press. (1876: Sanborn)

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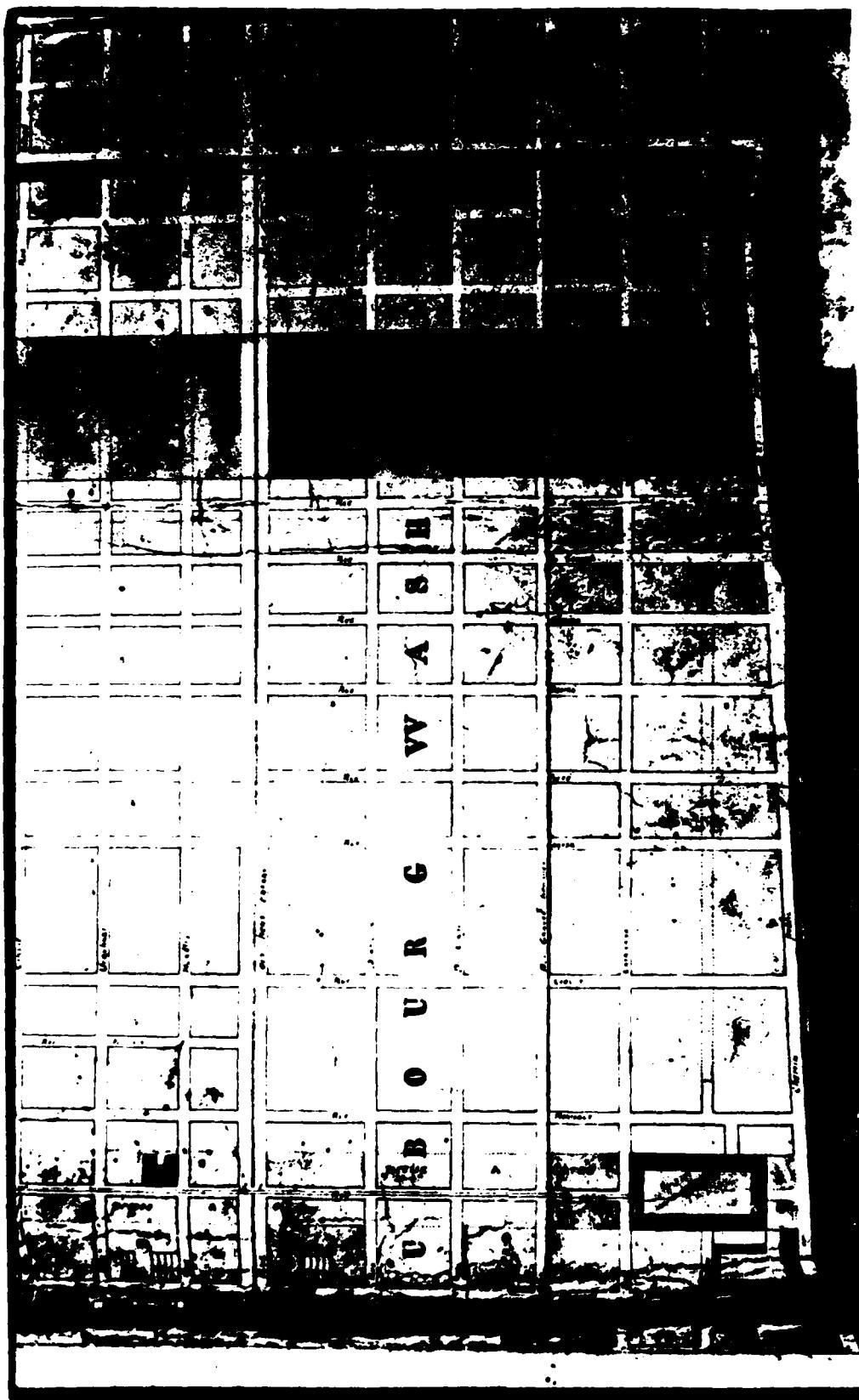


Figure 41.
Plan of Faubourg Washington, probably c. 1845. It shows the initial set of wharves across the front of the Faubourg and the large enclosure of the Levee Steam Cotton Press at the lower left. Notice that the McCarty estate and the Piernas estate cut the road transportation of the Faubourg.
(Plan Book 55/40, NONA)

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840: INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

State Legislature approved an act creating the Levee Steam Cotton Press as a corporation, presided over by Jules C. Denis with William S. E. Sevey as Secretary.

The press was completed in 1832 at a cost of about \$500,000. Its press capacity was 200,000 bales per annum, though in the 1830's it ran at about 100,000 bales per year. In April of 1838 part of the building burned, occasioning the loss of about \$350,000 worth of cotton [Directory of 1838]. This fire was one of the three great press fires of the ante-bellum period in New Orleans. The other two were the Freret fire in 1830 and the Orleans Cotton Press fire in 1844. The press lasted until 1882 when it sold its assets to a New Yorker who turned it over to the New Orleans and North Eastern Railroad Company [C. G. Andry N.P.: 4/3/1882].

The firm of Huie & Chalmers built the Union Cotton Press on land leased by Stephen Henderson to the Press in 1836. It held a 12-year lease on the square bounded by Tchoupitoulas, Henderson, Terpsichore, New Levee [F. Grima N.P.: 4/3/1841]. In front of its press were three wharves, half of the six that fronted Henderson's property. By 1840 six wharves were built in front of the property, situated across Front Street on present squares 17 and 18 [Plan J. Pilie, 12/31/1840, NONA, Plan Book 55/20]. These wharves corresponded to a slightly later style that featured a narrow walkway across the batture, then a widened end, sliced in the middle by the sloping ramp to facilitate unloading. The firm of Huie & Chalmers evidently built and owned the cotton press with capital borrowed from John Hagen, Sr., who foreclosed in 1840, and a couple of months later sold to Alfred Penn. Huie & Chalmers continued to operate the press [Daniel McCauley v. John Hagan, January 1844, 6 Rob. 359].

Stephen Henderson came to New Orleans prior to 1820 from Dunblane, Scotland, leaving a brother and a sister who both were weavers. He purchased considerable property at the upper end of the Faubourg Sautet and at his death on March 10, 1838 he left three squares of land with right of

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batture to nine charities: The Society for the relief of the Destitute Orphan Boys; The New Orleans Catholic Association for the Relief of male orphans; The female Orphan Society; Charity Hospital; Poor of the Parish of Orleans; The Firemen's Charitable Association of New Orleans; The Rector, Wardens and Vestry of Christ Church; the Wardens of the Church of St. Louis; and the Church commenced by Moffit. They divided a total of \$161,686.16 and continued to hold the batture lands in common, as they do to this day [F. Grima N.P.:4/11/1839; 5/17/1839; 4/3/1841].

Elisha Winter opened the first ropewalk in New Orleans in 1791 on land between Iberville and Canal Streets, just inside the fortifications. The rope walk occupied land 100 feet wide by 600 feet deep. It lasted only several years and was destroyed by fire prior to 1797 [ASP, Public Lands, III:170]. By the 1820's there was a ropewalk below the city at the lower edge of the Faubourg Marigny and Robert Layton's ropewalk at the upper end of the city just above Faubourg Panis [Nott vs. Daunoy et. al, December 1823, 2 Martin (N.S.) 1].

With the development of sugar cane as a major Louisiana crop after the turn of the century rum distilleries [called guildive] became more common place. One of the earliest distilleries was built by "Carpenter of the City" Cleophat Barbat sometime prior to 1804. He sold it to Joseph Perrillat, along with a fine house facing Tchoupitoulas, and Perrillat sold to Joseph Degoutin Deville Bellechasse, a friend of Livaudais's and a bitter opponent of Edward Livingston in the batture controversy. This distillery was located on the square between Tchoupitoulas and S. Peters, below Josephine, the present site of the Missouri-Pacific parking area. The distillery was located in a frame structure 51' x 23' [P. Pedesclaux N.P.: 3/8/1805; 10/8/1807]. Another early guildive was owned by Francois de Longuais who established it sometime between 1782 and 1805 on the land between Clouet Street and Louisa Street.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1800-1840: INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

De Longuais wrote his will in 1800 and described his property and his life. He lived on a four arpent plantation bounded by Joseph Montegut and Louis B. de Clouet which he purchased from Lachaises. His principal house had 9 rooms. The guildive was of brick, containing 3 rooms. He also had a fermentation store, a brick building for making taffia, a wood store, a kitchen, 11 negro cabins, and 2 dovecotes. The stable was in poor condition. The estate was valued at 25,000 pesos, along with 181 barrels of taffia valued at 5,430 pesos. He had 30 slaves, and a townhouse.

He left Paris in 1779 in troubled circumstances. His business there involved the great tax gathering institution--the Farmer's General--and he had the misfortune to sue it for 2,000,000 livres. He recounts that the Farmer's General put a price on his head and hired swordsmen to kill him. He had to flee Paris and change his name--originally he was Francois Moussu. His wife, Marie Elisabette Fontaine of Paris, who he continued to love, he had been forced to abandon, along with his three boys, who he now estimates are 35, 33, and 29 years of age. He thinks his wife died of colique in 1785. He still owns a home in Autel St. Simon in Languedoc. He came to America in the 1780's and engaged in the fur trade, sending pelts to the firms of Flavois and Doity in New York, shipments worth \$8,000 on one occasion and \$5,300 on another. He purchased a half interest in the fully equipped ship Mississippi. He declared in his will that it was his wish that his 3 boys, if alive, be his heirs. He leaves money for 20 masses to be said for his soul, and \$150 for the honest poor. He gave freedom to his mulatress Magdaline and her 4-year old daughter Rosine, who he also granted a slave of her choice [Inventory of Francois M. de Longuais in N. Broutin, Court Proceedings, vol. 62, NONA].

Within a few years after his will de Longuais died. Others purchased his distillery, and twenty years later two distilleries operated in this square. Eugene Sommereaure and Louis Feriet operated a distillery in the

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1820's and built a fine residence behind it on Chartres [City Directory 1822]. John Jonas Sporl purchased the residence in 1879 and owned it for many years. Just below this distiller Wm. Watson and Co. operated yet another one in the 1820's employing eight slaves. This distillery was located on a lot 80' wide by 300' deep and had been owned previously by John Brandt. William Watson, a New Orleans merchant, transferred the property to his brother Peter Watson in Liverpool, who sold it in 1827 to Drummond Bruce of Scotland. Soon afterwards the property was subdivided [Carlile Pollock N.P.:5/3/1824; Hugh K. Gordon N.P.: 8/15/1827].

Further downriver on the Macarty estate David Olivier built a distillery in 1819. It was located on the levee between Mazant and Bartholomew, at the corner of Mazant. The distillers for these plants resided nearby. Olivier's distiller, John Dougherty, lived on the levee near Independence and the Feriet's distillers, Benjamin and Prosper Gerardin, lived at 214 Levee, just above the Levee Cotton Press.

About 1817 Henry Clement established a rum distillery in Faubourg Annunciation, at the lower end of the Market site. At the sale in 1827 this elaborate institution was described as:

A rum Distillery, with 7 1/2 lots of Ground, situate on the river about one mile above the city, with all the buildings, fixtures and improvements, horses, drays, carts, standing butts and fire engine, together with four slaves accustomed to work in the house, vis Narcissus, Jim, Frederick and Bob. Seven hundred gallons of proof Rum is now made per day, and with the addition of a few cisterns 1000 gallons may be produced every 24 hours. The establishment is, without exception, the most valuable and extensive of the kind in the United States....The character of the Rum is so well known here and at New York.... A large quantity of Gin can also be distilled in the course of the year without interfering with the regular business of the house [H. K. Gordon N.P.:4/30/1827].

Fifty thousand gallons of molasses was on hand.

Saw mills were a major industry of the takeoff

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period of the New Orleans economy. In the 18th century Dubreuil dug a canal from just below the city at the river in towards the swamp, where it eventually angled over to the Bayou St. John. Because of the high land at the river, water tended to flow out the canal, and Dubreuil constructed a water powered sawmill at the junction of the river and the canal that worked for many decades. By 1814 another sawmill had appeared up river at the Market square in Faubourg Annunciation [Pedesclaux, N.P.:1/20/1814]. William Withers and L. U. Gaiennie operated steam saws on the river in Faubourg Delord in competition with the two sawmills further up in Faubourg Annunciation--that of Colonel George H. Hunter and that of John Crowninshield at New Levee and Orange. Beginning in the 1820's Valery Jean Delassize commenced operating a steam sawmill at the lower end of his Faubourg. In 1832 he sold it to William Doherty, with boilers and tools [Felix Grima N.P.:3/16/1836]. Doherty did not last too long, for soon the new owners of the Faubourg, John Bach, W. L. Hodge, and Martin Gordon, Jr., leased to Arthur Duncan a sawmill for three years for an annual rent of \$2,500. The steam sawmill occupied one arpent along the batture. The lease provided that should the lessee add circular saws or a planning machine to the mill his rent will be reduced accordingly. Only Duncan had the right to remove sand or mud from the batture. Duncan employed two men--D. M'Innis as a sawyer and L. C. Barbour as a fireman to handle the steam power [Barbour et al. v. Duncan's Curator, March 1841, 17 La. 439].

In 1828 Martin Duralde purchased the upper end of the plantation of Louis Chevalier Macarty and established a steam saw mill along 120 feet of the Levee at the corner of Congress. When Duralde went bankrupt in 1835, James Harvey Shepherd and planter John F. Miller purchased the mill for \$26,000, and cleverly sold it three years later for \$100,000 to William DeBuys and William Turner. The mills were profitable even after the Third Municipality began erecting wharves along the river front and forced the sawmills to

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demolish their structures for bringing logs in from the river [Felix de Armas N.P.: 4/20/1835; Charles Boudousquie N.P.: 2/20/1838; James H. Shepherd and Another v. The Third Municipality of the City of New Orleans, January, 1844, 6 Rob. 349].

By the 1830's the front of Faubourg Religieuse was occupied by lumber yards and oyster dealers. J. H. Holland owned 123 feet on Tchoupitoulas and the batture in front extending across present day square 34. He filled the land, maintained the road and levee, and used the front as a lumberyard. John Gleise owned the corner of square 33, St. Mary and Tchoupitoulas, which he used as a lumberyard and on the batture in front he erected sheds which he rented to oyster dealers. The lots just upriver belonged to George De Passau who also operated a lumber yard [Depassau v. Winter, 7 La. 1; Gleisse and Holland v. Winter, February, 1836, 9 La. 149]. The river's high water mark was 128 feet from De Passau's surveyed lot. Tchoupitoulas street occupied 64 feet, a landing 40 feet, leaving just 24 feet for De Passau to develop. One of the principal sources of lumber for the mills as well as the lumber yards were flatboats. But they could not be used until demolished, and as their crews had the habit of abandoning them once the cargo was removed, it was frequently left to other entrepreneurs to turn them into a salable product. In 1838 the directory lists three "flat boat breakers" along the river in Annunciation faubourg-- C. Grostridge, B. Lewis, and Henry Vaillant.

Foundries began appearing in New Orleans after the turn of the century to service the sawmills and the cotton presses. In 1822 John Brevoort ran a foundry near Hunter's saw mill and Robert Norris was the founder at Wither's sawmill.

The following year C. C. Whitman founded the company that several years later became Leeds & Company, the city's largest foundry. In 1825 Jedediah Leeds acquired a one third partnership and in 1826 took over the entire

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company. After his death in 1844 his two sons, Charles and Thomas, along with their cousin, Edward Grinnell, operated the firm. The Leeds firm was not on the river, but located on Tchoupitoulas, Delord, Foucher, and St. Joseph Streets. By the 1850's the firm produced horizontal and vertical steam engines, boilers, sugar mills, saw mills, and gin gearings [Daniel and Gunter 1977:35].

The New Orleans Foundry was the brainchild of Pierre Soule, later to be a distinguished United States Senator from Louisiana. In 1831 he purchased the home of merchant Felix Arnaud from his widow and son, "a good and spacious house with a kitchen and two other small houses in the courtyard." Soon afterwards he commenced building the foundry with an 18 horse power steam engine, 2 lathes, 4 vises, 2 large vats, 2 large scales, 3 vats for copper, a cutting machine, and a large quantity of tools, 1,200 lbs of iron and 500 lbs. of copper [L. T. Caire N.P.:2/22/1834]. In 1833 he sold the foundry, recovered it the following year, and finally sold it in 1841. Louis A. Pellerin operated it for 15 years, before selling it to Joseph A. Barrelli, a commission merchant and Consul of Portugal and Vice Consul of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies. After the Civil War it ended up in the hands of the Zunts family who erected the Atlantic Cotton Press.

Brickyards were likewise a common along the riverfront. From the early 18th century large quantities of bricks were produced and used in New Orleans, but the edict requiring fireproof houses that dated to the 1790's gave a further boost to the brick business. Debreuil had an inventory of almost a half a million bricks in 1758, a quantity that did not long remain unusual in the 19th century. Alexander Milne came to Louisiana about 1776 and entered the hardware trade. Like Stephen Henderson, he was a Scotsman. Soon Milne entered the brick business and before long was producing most of the brick used in New Orleans in the late 18th century. Milne was a small and humble looking man, but an astute businessman who soon invested heavily in

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property along Lake Pontchartrain. He lived to the age of 94, dying in 1838 and left, like Henderson also, money to found a school in Scotland, and large sums to orhanages in New Orleans. He founded the town of Milneburg at Lake Pontchartrain, the terminus of the Pontchartrain Railroad in 1830, and owned at his death virtually all of the shoreline of New Orleans on Lake Pontchartrain. Milne was a landowner on the riverfront as well, owning part of the site that came to be the Orleans Cotton Press [Kendall 1922: II, 639-40].

In 1807 the partnership of Bellechasse and Mercier offered for sale the brick and tile kiln on a 240' lot between Tchoupitoulas and the river, just above the distillery in what is now the Missouri-Pacific parking area. This brickyard had probably been in operation for some years [ASP II:20]. Further up river the Faubourg Religieuse possessed a brickyard as early as 1810. [P. Pedesclaux N.P.: 1/20/1814]. At the upper end of the Livaudais plantation at Pleasant Street Valery Jean Delassize established a brickyard in 1822 [See p. 27 for discussion].

The first forty years of the nineteenth century that has just been analyzed set the pattern for New Orleans economic life for the next century. American merchants representing the capital of the Eastern seaboard brought the forms and initiative of commerce. The first wave of immigrants, the St. Domingans, set the initial cultural mold. The Batture lands provided the new land adjacent to the City that facilitated the development of new business. These new businesses, pre-eminently associated with the cotton trade, brought fabulous new wealth into the City. The bedrock of commercial success, however, was the building of an infrastructure of levees and docks that facilitated the tremendous growth of steamboat and steamship commerce prior to the Civil War.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: 1830-1860

DOCKS COME OF AGE

The early 19th century saw the beginning of the dock building age in New Orleans, but it was not until the middle decades of the 19th century that the waterfront reached a maturity of development that would rival the 20th.

Nineteenth century wharves followed five types. The earliest were narrow finger wharves. In the 1820's these became wider in proportion to their length, which was still considerable. Both of these were flat on top. In the twenties Joseph Pilie introduced the steamboat wharf with the central inclined plane cut into the outside edge. By the 1850's City Council ordinances required that all steamboat wharves have inclined planes thirty feet wide projecting from their horizontal platforms. The sloping planes or ramps dropped five feet to the water's edge, where they had an outer lip fifteen inches high. The purpose was to facilitate unloading low-slung steamboats, while keeping the dock's main deck level above high water [Leovy, 1857].

Another wharf type originating at that time was the Nuisance wharf, a long narrow wharf that stuck out into the river for the disposal of garbage into the river. As the century progressed wharves got wider and did not extend so far out into the river. Another form of dock had the entire top length angled down toward the river on a gentle slope. The stretch of the river from Jackson Square to Elysian Fields contained another variety of wharves, the T-shaped wharf, a narrow walk with a cross wharf at the outer end.

In 1857 the City hired J. A. D. d'Hemecourt to prepare an official plan of the City of New Orleans. The plan was commissioned to be the official map of the City of New Orleans by contract between Claude Jules Allou d'Hemecourt and the City dated December 1, 1856 before P. E. Theard, N.P. The City Council, in resolution #2795 C.C. on May 28, 1856, approved the expenditure of \$30,000. The contract was never completed and the money was never paid. After the Civil War Paul d'Hemecourt, son of the maker, sold

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1830-1860: DOCKS

the plans to Sidney F. Lewis. The original d'Hemecourt plans or sheets, 48 in number, were donated to the City by Mr. J. Hampden Lewis, son of Sidney F. Lewis, and officially accepted by the City as per Ordinance #14,669 C.C.S. dated Dec. 15, 1939. These 48 sheets are now in a specially built cabinet in the City Engineer's Office, Department of Streets.

D'Hemecourt represented 82 wharves on his plans of the riverfront done between 1857 and the Civil War. Above the Faubourg Ste. Marie, from Calliope upriver to Toledano there were 47 wharves. Most of these were of an intermediate design, being longer than wide, and obviously were twenty or more years old. Further upriver, beginning at the City of Lafayette that had been incorporated into New Orleans in 1852, the wharves were of a more modern design, of great width, but extending into the river proportionately only a short way.

Twenty years earlier upper New Orleans, from Felicity Street to Canal Street, was graced with 27 wharves, each numbered beginning at Canal Street. The first 9 extended across the front of Faubourg Ste. Marie. Number 10 was the Picayune Tier. Numbers 11 through 24 extended from the straight stretch of levee in front of Faubourgs Delord and Saulet. These wharves had just recently been enlarged as a result of the settlement of the lawsuit between Municipality #1 and Municipality #2. The Second Municipality began extending the wharves in 1836 in order to keep up with the moving batture that kept pushing the river away from their docks. In 1840 an overlay tracing was prepared to show the extent of the river movement from 1821 to 1839 and applied to the Pilie 1830 plan for uptown wharf construction [see Fig. 23 page 47]. This tracing [Fig. 42] shows the original wharves with extensions. A detail of these extensions appears on page 101 showing the steamboat incline [Fig. 43].

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1830-1860: DOCKS

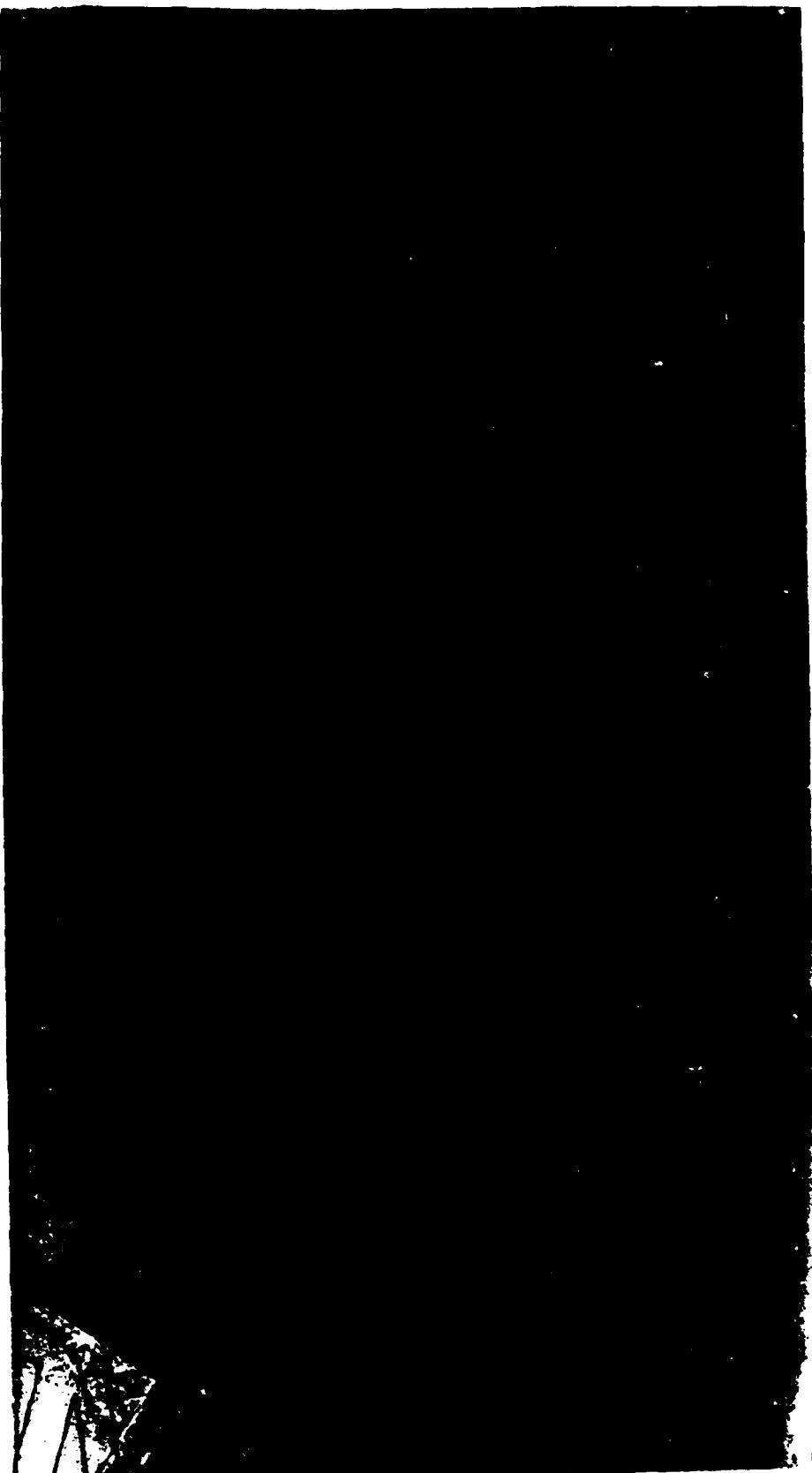


Figure 42.
This sketch represents the riverfront in front of what would be the Orleans Cotton Press. The squares are pre-1821, and the road is New Levee. Outside of the new levee is batture that will soon be leveed and the squares on which the Orleans Cotton Press would sit will be formed. The wider street left center is Roffignac. The lowermost street is Gaiennie (Clio). This pencil overlay sketch shows six water-lines that mark the build up of the batture. The inside line is dated 1810, followed by 1821, 1827, 1829, 1830, and 1838. The wharves were all erected between 1831 and 1838, yet even in that period of time additions have been made to them so that they can reach the water. Overlay sketch on J. Pilee Plan dated 8/5/1830.

(Supreme Court Collection, UNO)

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1830-1860: DOCKS



Figure 43.
Detail of Wharves #12 and #13, in front of
the square bounded by Erato and Clio and S.
Peters and Front Streets. This square is now
solid ground. The Joseph M. Kennedy property
was the Wither's Saw Mill. From the inside
edge of the Actual Levee to water's edge is
375 feet. Front Street is 60 feet wide.
(Plan Book 12/10, NONA)

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1830-1860: DOCKS

At Robin Street the river turned and the Faubourg Lacourse-Annunciation began, with 3 long wharves in front of Orange, Richard and Market Streets, numbers 25-27 [A Reference Map of New Orleans, Shewing the settled parts of the Three Municipalities. Engraved for J. Gibson's Directory 1838. Executed under the direction of F. Wilkinson Esq., by H. Graves at the N.O. Bee Lith. Office].

The widest wharf extended from Josephine upriver to Soraparu, and was centered on the heart of the business district of Lafayette. The next widest wharf was at 9th Street, extending upriver two blocks to Plaisant. In 1843 Hugh Grant, City Surveyor for the City of Lafayette, prepared the specifications for the wharf at 9th Street [Fig. 44]. It was to be 176 feet long, at the same height as the St. Mary Street Ship wharf, which was fourteen feet six inches above the low water of November, 1841.

The 9th Street wharf had two levels, a small horizontal projection from the levee top about twenty feet wide, and a sloping section extending down five feet gradually over a width of thirty-three feet. The wharf contained double posts for moorings every forty-four feet, as well as posts for fenders. The posts were to be driven at least ten feet into the ground or until they would go no further after being hit with a rammer of 1,000 lbs weight. The outside posts were to be no less than thirty-five feet long, of yellow pine or cypress ten inches square [L. R. Kenny, N.P., October 10, 1844]. Thus by the 1840's the city and its suburbs were attempting wide, ambitious wharves with breathtaking rapidity all along the riverbank.

Beginning at Jackson Square going downriver there were 35 wharves. The two largest were situated in front of Bernard Marigny's stores between Elysian Fields and Mandeville Streets and between Louisa and Piety. A quay or widened expanse of land fronted the Louisa-Piety square in the first decades of the century. By 1822 a sawmill under the name of Miller & Pierce was operating at corner of Piety, and John F. Miller was the landowner both above and

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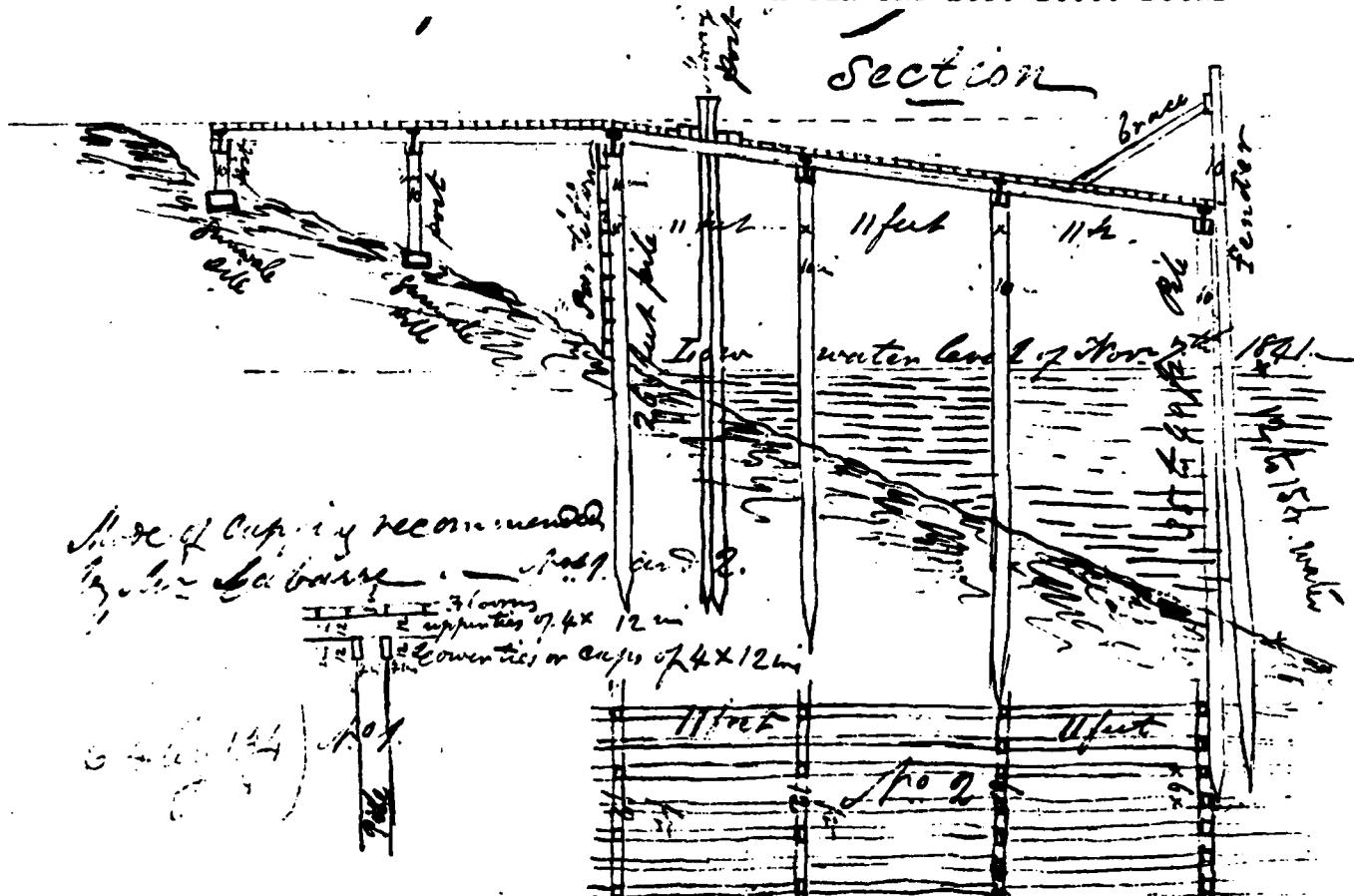


Figure 44.
Section and Plan of Wharf in front of Square 14, Town of Lafayette, between Ninth and Harmony Streets. Hugh Grant, City Surveyor for Lafayette, 11/8/1843.
(L. R. Kenny N.P.: 10/10/1844)

below the intersection of Piety and the river. In 1836 the City purchased the rear half of the square fronting on the river between Piety and Louisa and erected the Washington Market. It required a large dock to handle daily deliveries. In the 1840's Louisa Street, one corner upriver, possessed a narrow long wharf, but in the 1850's it was removed and the previously mentioned wide structure was erected. By the 1880's, however, the wide structure was gone, and a small wharf sat in front of Piety Street. After the Civil War the City reserved this block for coal vessels.

A regular row of wharves extended from Elysian Fields down to Congress Street by 1838. Below Congress the transportation arteries were cut by the Macarty plantation,

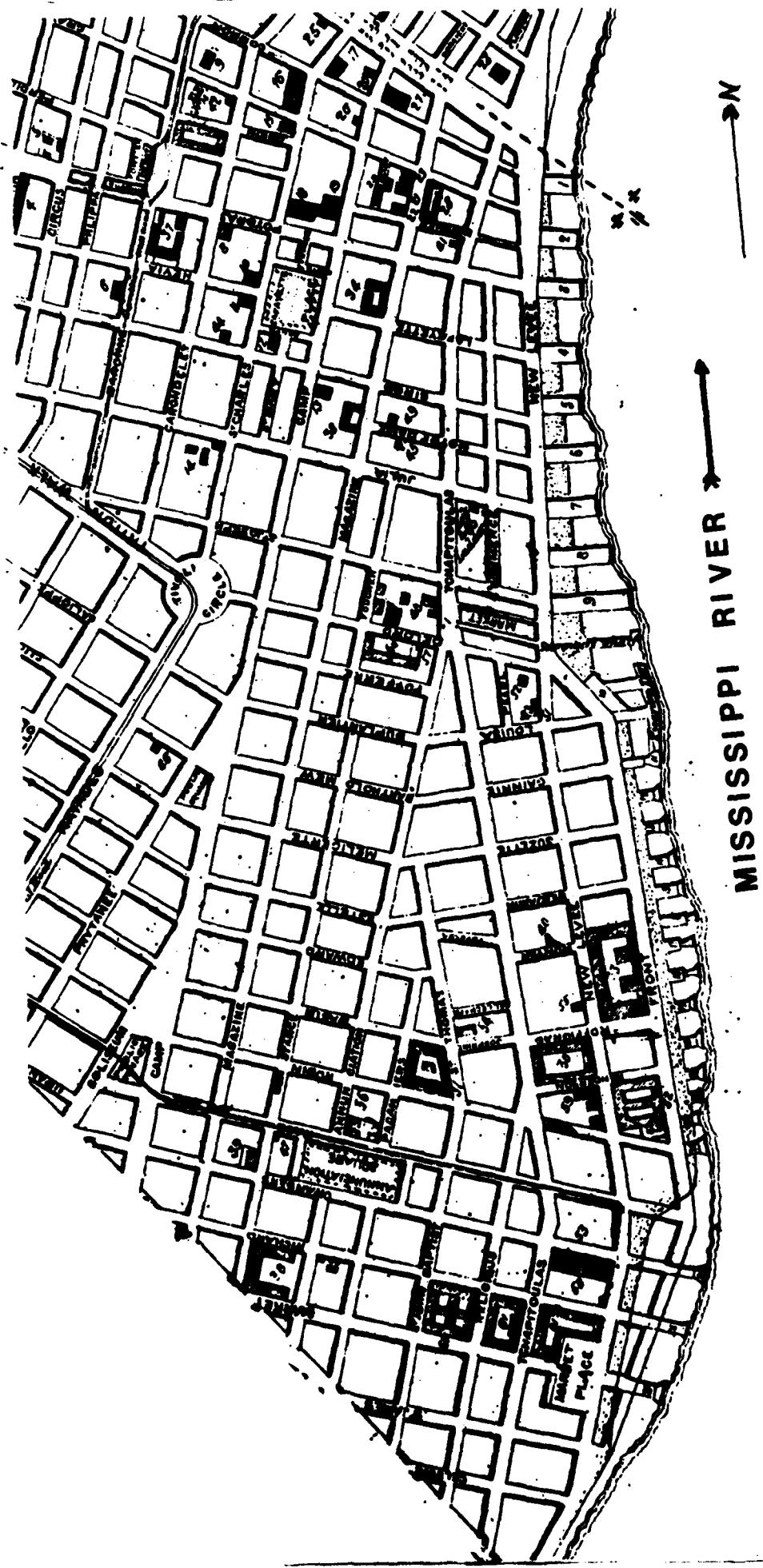


Figure 45.
The upriver portion of the riverfront according to the Gibson's Directory in 1838. Notice the wharves along the river, beginning with Number 1 at the boundary line between the First and Second Municipality. Notice also the three long wharves in front of the Market Place at Faubourg Annunciation. (Library of Congress)

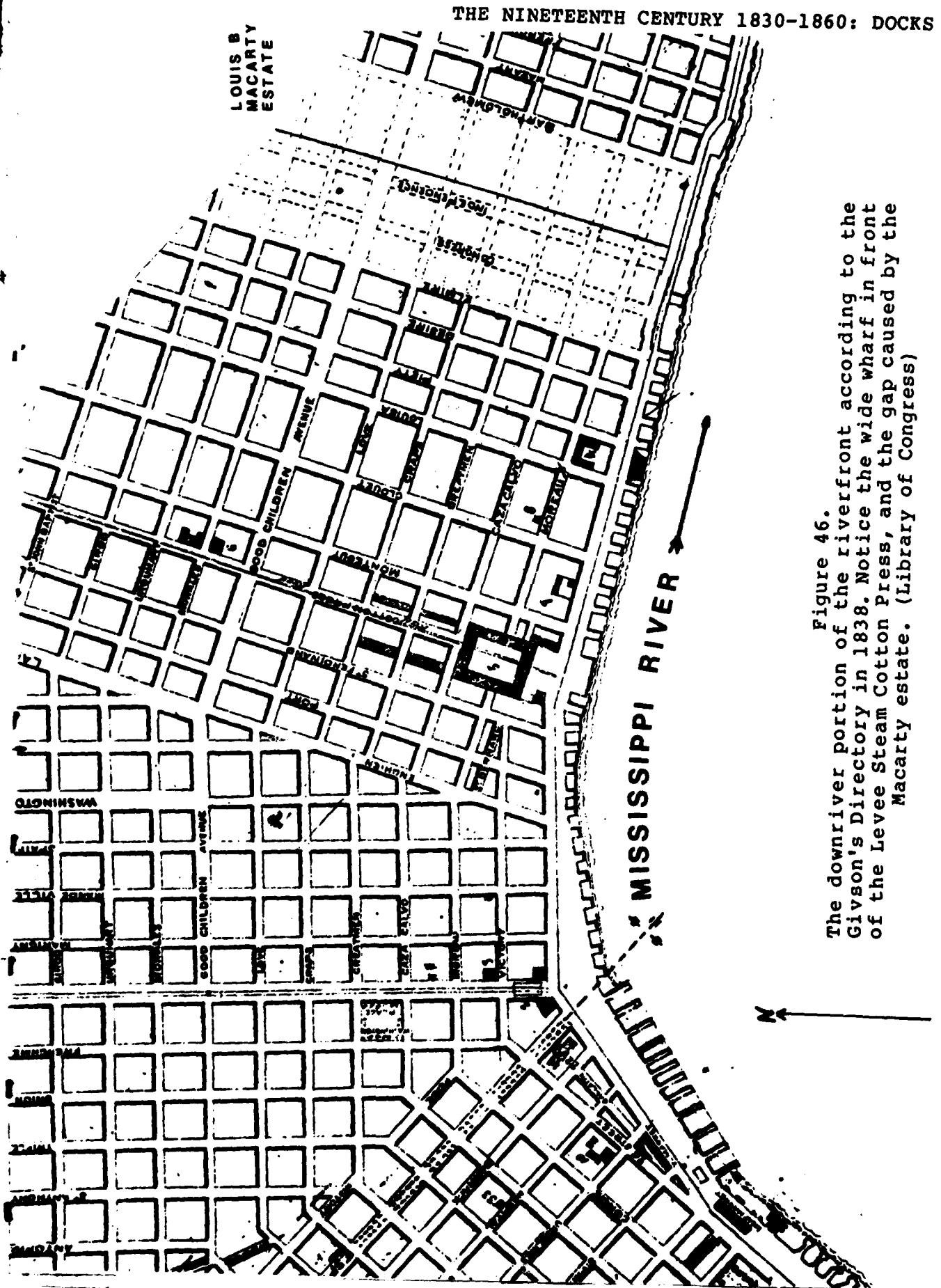


Figure 46.
The downriver portion of the riverfront according to the Givson's Directory in 1838. Notice the wide wharf in front of the Levee Steam Cotton Press, and the gap caused by the Macarty estate. (Library of Congress)

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which remained undeveloped until its subdivision in 1859. That year the City let a contract to J. C. Costley to build six new wharves in the 6th Section of the Port, the area between Barthelemy and Lesseps. The price was \$19.50 per square 100 feet. The piles were to be 11" x 11", driven 15' to 20' into the ground, on 10' centers, with the front row on 5' centers. The planks were the standard 3" x 12" of yellow long pine. The stringers were unusually heavy, 10" by 10". The wharves were to be of the "T" design, with the walkway 40' wide, and the head of the "T" to be 30' by 80' [Specifications by Louis H. Pilie, 11/19/1858 in E. Bouy N.P.: 2/14/1859].

The upper end of the row was reserved for sailing vessels, and the middle portion for steamships, including the dock at the Lower Steam Cotton Press. Throughout the century the area below Congress, roughly the lands of Louis Chevalier Macarty, remained open and were reserved for flat-boat landings.

That there was a port of New Orleans in the 19th century is very much a tribute to the office of City Surveyor. The New Orleans City Surveyor's office was probably part of the city's municipal government as early as its organization under the American regime after the Louisiana Purchase. While the New Orleans City Archive has no City Surveyor manuscripts dating to 1803, maps and plans from as early as 1807 indicate some kind of Surveyor's work. The Surveyor's function evidently grew out of the old French tradition of military engineers such as Vauban in France and de Pauger in eighteenth century New Orleans, who acted as city planners, designated the location of streets, squares and lot lines, and were responsible for public safety from fire, flood, and military attack.

By 1831 the Surveyor's chief duty was to provide for orderly physical growth in the city. To this end the Surveyor was principally instructed by ordinance to insure "safety and convenience of passage" by surveying and marking private property lines and issuing building permits based on

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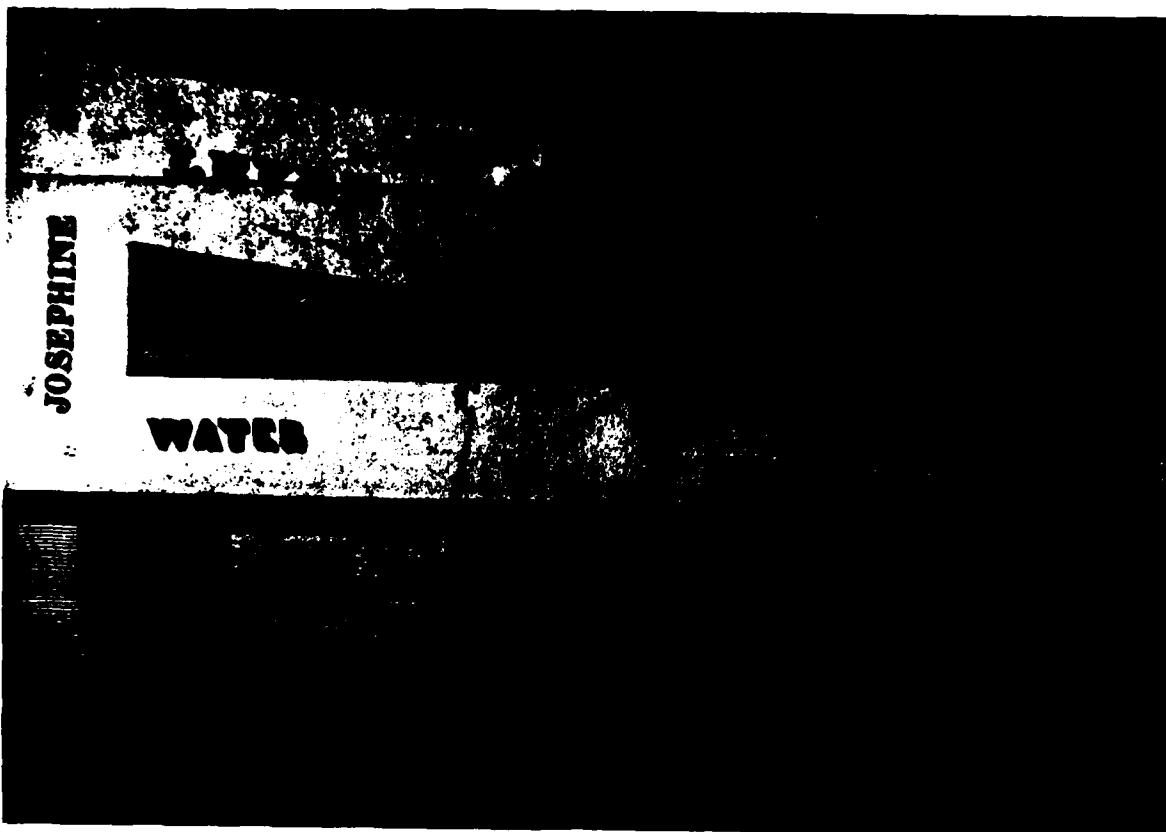


Figure 47.

Detail of a modern wharf in the City of Lafayette in 1854. It fronted the square between Josephine and Adele, next to the Steam Ferry Landing. The floodwall alignment follows the lake side of Levee Street. (Plan Book 64/21, NONA)

his surveys. To insure convenience of passage on city rights-of way, the Surveyor had the duty to inspect sidewalks for encroachments by steps, signs, or low shed roofs, to see that vacant lots were fenced, and to supervise the construction and maintenance of streets and sidewalks. He also inspected all private buildings for hazardous delapidated walls, and was responsible to inspect buildings such as theaters, where the public gathered, for fire hazards.

The Surveyor of New Orleans was from earliest times a trained professional engineer. His primary duties

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were in the field of civil engineering, but he also functioned as a City architect. In the latter capacity he designed, wrote specifications and let contracts for all public buildings such as markets, fire engine houses, asylums, prisons, courthouses, and schoolhouses. As engineer for the City, he not only supervised the construction of all these buildings, but also designed and supervised the construction and maintenance of wharves, levees, bridges, the drainage system of canals and pumphouses, streets sidewalks, and cemeteries. He was responsible for city sanitation, and designed the Nuisance Wharves where garbage and waste were thrown into the river. In 1818 the City council requested that Joseph Pilie design a special boat, like a small barge or chalan, to carry waste out into the river [Plan of Joseph Pilie, NOPL, 6/9/1818].

As New Orleans expanded during the Ante-Bellum period (1830-1860), the Surveyor was called upon to perform an increasingly complex array of municipal services. He was not only the City architect, engineer and public safety officer, but functioned as a local health inspector, city planner, cost estimator, and to some extent, keeper of real estate records. His office inspected residential areas for low ground and standing water, recorded the number of residents per dwelling unit in poorer sections, and determined the number of families sharing privy facilities. The Surveyor recommended to the mayor and council those public works he felt the city needed, and estimated their costs. He planned and laid out subdivisions, and received and processed petitions from citizens who wished to have their sidewalks paved. By the 1850s he was responsible to keep a record of all property owners and changes in ownership, and furnish this information to the City for tax assessments.

Part of the Surveyor's safety and order function was to coordinate the street naming and house numbering system. He also inspected private premises for compliance

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with fire and health ordinances concerning chimneys, ovens, forges, furnaces, privy houses and wells. The Surveyor even oversaw tree planting on public streets. By 1840 he was responsible to regulate batture use, designate sand borrow pits and garbage dump areas on the batture, give permits for bridges over it, and employ commissaries to supervise its use.

As part of his engineering function, the Surveyor selected, purchased, and maintained an inventory of building materials which his office used in construction or maintenance projects such as repairing public buildings or paving streets. It was the surveyor's task to examine schooner loads of lumber to pass on their quality, or to review cargoes of ballast stones left on river docks to accept or reject the round or square stones according to their degree of perfection.

In 1890, a major institutional change came to New Orleans government when by Act 93 of that year the Louisiana legislature created the Orleans Levee Board and charged it with construction and maintenance of all levees in the city. By a section of the same act, the New Orleans City Engineer became chief engineer for the Levee Board. At that time, the New Orleans City Surveyor's office became part of the City Engineer's office, a change that was basically one of name, for the new office performed most of the Surveyor's old duties. Surveyors in the office now performed survey work, and engineers oversaw construction and maintenance. The City Charter of 1896 recognized this change of name, and after that time City Surveyor records were kept as part of the City Engineer's Office.

The first City Surveyor in the 19th century was Jacques Tanesse. He held the office until 1818 when he was replaced by Joseph Pilie. Gille Joseph Pilie (1789-1846) came to New Orleans from St. Domingue and at the age of 16 (1805) he entered into a contract with the architect, engineer and surveyor Bartholomew Lafon. He became a draftsman in Lafon's office for a period of two years and

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was to receive \$16.00 a month salary and his keep. Three years later, he advertised that he could teach drawing, do portraits, landscapes, artificial flowers and make architectural plans and charts. With these skills he painted scenery for the local theatre. In 1808 he produced a plan of the city of New Orleans showing the names of the owners of each lot. He was appointed surveyor of Orleans Parish on December 1, 1818, succeeding Jacques Tanesse and held the office until 1836. After the division of the city he was appointed Surveyor for the Second Municipality until 1844.

Louis Henry Pilie, his son, was born in New Orleans in 1821. He studied at Janin's College in St. Louis and at the age of 15 joined his father's firm. In 1843 he was appointed Deputy Surveyor of the First Municipality and City Surveyor after the reunion of the Municipalities. General Benjamin F. Butler removed him from office in 1862, but he returned in 1866, only to be removed again by General Philip Sheridan in 1867 [Huber 1982:70-72].

Until the Civil War the city itself constructed docks along the riverfront for the convenience of commerce. The growing cost of maintenance in that decade forced the city to lease docks out to private shippers or handlers, who paid the city a fee for the privilege of using a dock, providing that the lessee would maintain it. After the Civil War dock construction itself was leased out to the major shippers or railroads.

The first regulations for the Port of New Orleans were published in a broadside on January 18, 1808. The original boundaries of the Port extended from Faubourg Ste. Marie down through Faubourg Marigny. The Territorial Legislature established a Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans charged with its overall supervision, but throughout the century the City Council played the deciding role. The Spanish had originally established an Anchorage Duty, but in 1808 this was replaced with the Levee Duty dedicated to levee maintainance. Seagoing ships were charged

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from \$12 to \$40, flatboats \$6.00 and keelboats \$3.00. The duties were collected through the office of Collector of Levee Duties operating with a number of men called wharfingers. They patrolled the docks and collected payments from the ship captains and supervised the placement of cargo. Fines were levied for cargo left on the dock longer than 24 hours. Andrew Price, the Wharfinger and Acting Harbor Master in 1810, wrote to the City Council requesting permission to move the ferry landing because the large number of ships arriving required the use of two good births occupied by the ferry [New Orleans Municipal Papers 1782-1925, box 7, folder 1, TU]. This system stayed intact throughout the century.

One of the important responsibilities of the early collectors was to provide sea going vessels with the timber necessary to construct discharging bridges for the unloading of cargo. Since this was done at the expense of the city, it was not long before the advisability of regular docks became apparent. The regulations provided for the supervision of the slaves who served as longshoremen. These were slaves whose masters permitted them to hire out for pay, and the regulations limited their daily wage to 75 cents. They were also required to wear a tin badge indentifying them and their masters. They were to report for work between Toulouse and St. Louis Street. Draymen were equally vital to the port, and all unhired draymen were required to wait for work at one of three locations--St. Peter Street; St. Louis and Conti; and in front of the old Customhouse. A load delivered around the city or suburbs was charged a maximum of 25 cents, liquid hogsheads 31 1/4 cents, and a load to Bayou St. John \$1.25 [Regulations of the Port of New Orleans, 1/18/1808, John Minor Wisdom Collection, TU].

In 1871 the the Levee Distance from Toledano to Poland Street was 28,214 feet, of which wharves occupied 16,876 feet. [Letter, W. H. Bell, City Surveyor to J. R. West, Administrator of Improvements, March 6, 1871, City Surveyor's Records, KG511r, City Archives, NOPL]. City

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ordinances assigned dock spaces to various classes of ships and boats. In general, steamboats had docking privileges from Notre Dame St. in the American Sector to St. Louis St. in the Vieux Carre. Between St. Louis and St. Ann was a ferry landing, and schooners docked from St. Ann to St. Philip. At the foot of Esplanade was a coal boat landing, and both steamships and flatboats docked at the Third District, below Esplanade. At the river front of Lafayette (the Garden District) were wharves for steamships, generally seagoing, with some spaces reserved for ferrys and coalboats. Uptown docks were for flatboats and additional seagoing vessels.

An ordinance entitled "Levee Sections," [Ordinance 210 N.S. July 25, 1866] spelled out precise locations for every kind of vessel. Levee section ordinances had been passed routinely by the Council since the first decade of the 19th century.

First District: Sections 1, 2, 3

Section 1: Canal St. Ferry Landing to Upper side of Notre Dame. Steamboat landing.

Section 2: Notre Dame to upper line of Thalia. Barges and flatboats occupy 500 feet beginning at steamboat landing. Remainder for steamships. But wharf 16 and the 2 slips on either side of it open for coal boats

Section 3: Thalia to upper limits of 1st district for seagoing vessels. From lower line of Nuisance Wharf at Robin Street, extending 200 feet below it, is coalboat landing for N.O. Gas Light Company

Second District: Sections 4, 5, 6

Section 4: Canal Street Ferry Landing to lower side of St. Louis Street, Steamboat landing

Section 5: St. Louis to St. Ann, Ferry Landing and Steamships

Section 6: St. Ann ferry landing to 3rd Dist. ferry landing. St. Ann to St. Philip--Picayune Tier or schooner landing. Remainder for seagoing vessels, except 200 feet from Esplanade set apart as a coal boat landing by common council

Third District: Sections 7, 8, 9

Section 7: 3rd District ferry landing to Wharf of the English Steamers--for sea going vessels

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Section 8: Upper line of the English Steamer's wharf to Clouet Street--Landing for steamships

Section 9: Clouet Street to lower limits of city--from Nuisance Wharf down 800 feet assigned as flatboat landing and remainder landing for seagoing vessels--except 200' from lower side of Louisa Street down--for coal boats

Fourth District: Section 10, 11, 12

Section 10: Lower limit of 4th district to Jackson Street ferry landing. Seagoing vessels [St. Mary St. to Jackson, amended 1866 for steamships]

Section 11: Jackson Street ferry landing to 3rd street--Seagoing vessels. Lower part [Jackson to 2nd--for steamships, upper 1/2 for seagoing; and between 2nd and 3rd a coalboat landing]

Section 12: 3rd St. to upper limit of city--of which 800' from 3rd is for flatboat and remainder for seagoing [H. J. Leovy and C. H. Luzenberg 1870:Ord. 559]

Steam towboats were on use on the Mississippi as early as the 1820's, primarily used to tow sailing craft up the river and around English Turn. The prevailing Southerly winds encouraged the use of tows down the river as well, and the City reserved four wharves below Louisa for the making up of tows [Leovy and Luzenberg 1870: Ord. 562, 564].

New Orleans wharves deteriorated rapidly. At several periods Surveyors reported their bad condition to the mayor. Louis H. Pilie was constantly chiding contractors who failed to maintain the wharves according to the terms of their contracts with the City during the 1850s. In 1857 he reported to the Committee on Wharves and Landings:

1st Section James A. Lusk, lessee. Wharf between Harmony and Pleasant Streets. The flooring in bad condition and full of holes. Some of the piles have given away and new piles required. Not a single brace to the wharf. Inclined plane opposite Harmony Street, in bad order and full of holes. Levee all along the wharf requiring a covering of hard materials [City Surveyor, KG 510, 7/8/1857, NOPL].

By the 1870's the city was finally constructing wharves riverward from the proposed floodwall right-of-way. Thus the early wharves or their remains may lie under some parts of the alignment, especially in the stretch between St. Louis and Toulouse. Based on extant plans drawn by Louis H. Pilie in 1866, the City evidently undertook a large wharf

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construction program in 1866 and 1867. These plans call for somewhat heavier members than those of the 1844 wharf, requiring a 12" pile and heavier fenders. [Specifications for New Wharves, July 5, 1866, by Louis H. Pilie, NOPL, KG 630 (December, 1865-February, 1869), p. 96] These heavy timbers may have, in part, survived underground.

A NEW GENERATION OF BUSINESSES

The first maturation of the New Orleans Port occurred in the period 1840 to 1860. The growth of waterfront industry in this period was concentrated in the uptown Faubourgs. The City carved residential lots out of part of the City owned quay along the French Quarter, but most of the quay remained vacant land for the use of shippers. The Customhouse and the Mint appeared in the 1840's to anchor each end of the quay, and the middle was used as it had been used for a century--for markets. Downriver, in Faubourg Marigny and below, the large industries established in the thirties dominated the waterfront. At the upper end was the Levee Steam Cotton Press, followed by two saw mills, a foundry, the Macarty estate, the Tobacco warehouses and below the Ursulines the Louisiana Sugar Refinery. These properties, particularly the undeveloped Macarty estate and the Ursuline Convent, cut the transportation arteries of the region. They could well be one of the reasons for the decline of the 3rd District from 1840 on. Notary Octave de Armas commented in 1880 that the crash of 1837 had put an end to urban improvements and business development in the area below Elysian Fields [U. S. Supreme Court, Transcript of Records, City of New Orleans, appellant, vs. Myra Clark Gaines, Fall 1884, I: 1004].

By the beginning of this period the cotton presses had moved to their permanent locations, primarily along Faubourg Delord and Saulet. For these twenty years there was little change in the names or locations of the presses.

In the late 1850's Faubourg Religeuse acquired its first cotton press. In the 1830's John Gleise had run a lumber yard at the upriver corner of St. Mary and

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Tchoupitoulas. He owned the land from 1818 till 1853, and his widow sold the land with buildings to Dennis O'Driscoll Sullivan, who soon afterwards established the Pelican Cotton Press on the site. Sullivan soon ran out of money, however, and in 1859 investors Armand and Michel Heine bought him out for \$170,000, leasing the press back to Sullivan for \$20,000 a year. The land included nearly all of the front of the square between St. Andrew and St. Mary that is now crossed by the Floodwall with a press, brick building, warehouse for cotton, wooden stables, machinery, and steam engine.

Armand Heine evidently moved back to Paris at the time of the Civil War. While in New Orleans Michel Heine married the daughter of Alphonse Miltenberger, Amelie. Their daughter, Marie Alice Heine, was born in 1858 in the Miltenberger home on Royal at Dumaine, and lived in New Orleans until the age of 16, when her father returned to Paris to rejoin the firm of Heine Freres. The Heine's were cousins of the German poet Heinrich Heine. Marie Alice was beautiful and charming, and a year after her move to Paris she married Marie Odet Armand Chapelle, Marquis de Jumilhac, Duc de Richelieu. Nine years after his death she married Albert Honore Charles Grimaldi, Prince Souverain de Monaco, who had previously been divorced. She was thus the first American to marry a Prince of Monaco, antedating Grace Kelly by 65 years. [M. de Armas N.P.: 3/26/1818; H. B. Cenas N.P.: 5/21/1856; A. Mazureau N.P.: 4/26/1859; James Fahey N.P.: 3/10/1884; E. G. Gottschalk N.P.: 7/26/1866; Rider's Digest, undated, Louisiana Collection, Scrapbook 68/35, TU].

Beginning in the 1840's a new generation of warehouse construction took place along the river. The tobacco trade had been important part of New Orleans commerce since the 18th century. The French had stimulated tobacco production at Natchez, and subsequently amounts were produced more or less continuously upriver. The Spanish monopolized the tobacco trade, and maintained a specially constructed warehouse for tobacco above the city on the quay

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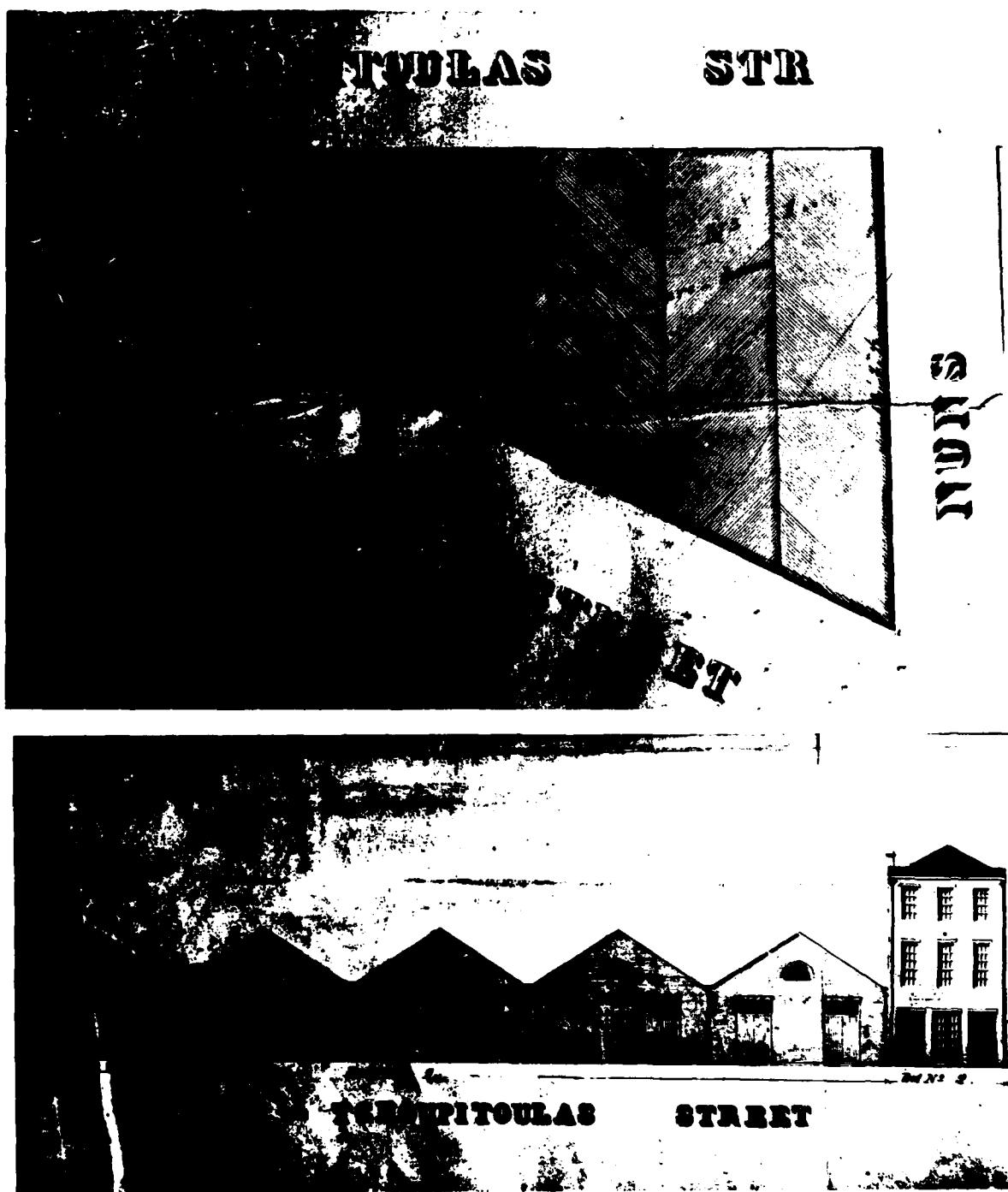


Figure 48.
Tobacco Warehouses constructed in the 1840's on square
bounded by Tchoupitoulas, Nuns, Levee, and St. Mary Streets.
The buildings still stand. (Wall of NONA)

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in front of Iberville Street. In September of 1836 a group of men formed the New Orleans Tobacco Warehouse Company "for the storage and inspection of tobacco." The partnership consisting of Edmond Jean Forstall, Martin Gordon Sr., Thomas Barrett, Pierre Joseph Tricou and about two dozen other men purchased one and a third acres just above the Andry plantation using \$69,100 borrowed from the Citizens Bank. They constructed a substantial brick building facing the river for about one hundred feet and extending inland about five hundred feet.

Like many developers in the late 1830's, they had the misfortune to borrow money just before the spectacular currency crash of 1837 and soon the Tobacco company found itself in debt and in bankruptcy. The company had selected John Duggan to manage the company for \$5,000 a year, but like the Orleans Cotton Press, never got around to paying its manager. Dugan sued and won \$10,138. In 1842 the Citizens Banks, which had foreclosed on the property, sold it to Manuel Jean de Lizardi, one of three Spanish brothers for \$83,340. Lizardi held on to the property, selling out in 1861 just after the commencement of the Civil War. In 1874 the brick warehouses were torn down and the new owner, John Henderson, subdivided the property. Henry Lambou and Joseph Noel purchased the site of the warehouse itself and erected a sawmill and various small sheds [Citizens Bank vs. N.O. Tobacco Warehouse Company, Parish Court 14389, October, 1842, NOPL; John Duggan vs. N.O. Tobacco Warehouse Company, Commercial Court, 1/13/1842, NOPL; C. Boudousquie N.P.: 10/10/1842; J. Agaisse N.P.: 5/12/1861; W. J. Castelle N.P.: 2/4/1874; Robinson's Plan of Third District 1880; Plan of Subdivision, N.O. Tobacco Warehouse Company Property, Tube 13, NONA]

About the same time that Forstall and partners were launching the New Orleans Tobacco Warehouse Company, Laurent Millaudon and M. Turner constructed a warehouse at the uppermost square of Faubourg Annunciation. Rezin D. Shepherd purchased the property from the two in 1841 and

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soon turned it into the Bull's Head Warehouse for tobacco. Later in the century Shepherd's heirs sold the buildings to Schulyer B. Steers who converted the property to the Centennial Cotton Press [L. T. Caire N.P.: 4/14/1841; A. Boudousquie N.P.: 6/8/1866; F. J. Dreyfous N.P.: 12/2/1902].

The square, actually a triangle, just upriver from the Bull's Head Warehouse was developed in the 1840's. About 1847 a row of tobacco warehouses were built there that still stand [Plan Tobacco Warehouses, NONA]. Just above this row of warehouses between St. Mary and St. Andrew was the Conrad or Virginia warehouses built in the 1840's by Frederick D. Conrad on land approximately 190' by 128' [Fig. 49]. Conrad sold the warehouse to Dennis O'Driscoll Sullivan for \$31,200 in 1856 to be used as part of his cotton press [H. B. Cenas N.P.: 6/26/1856].

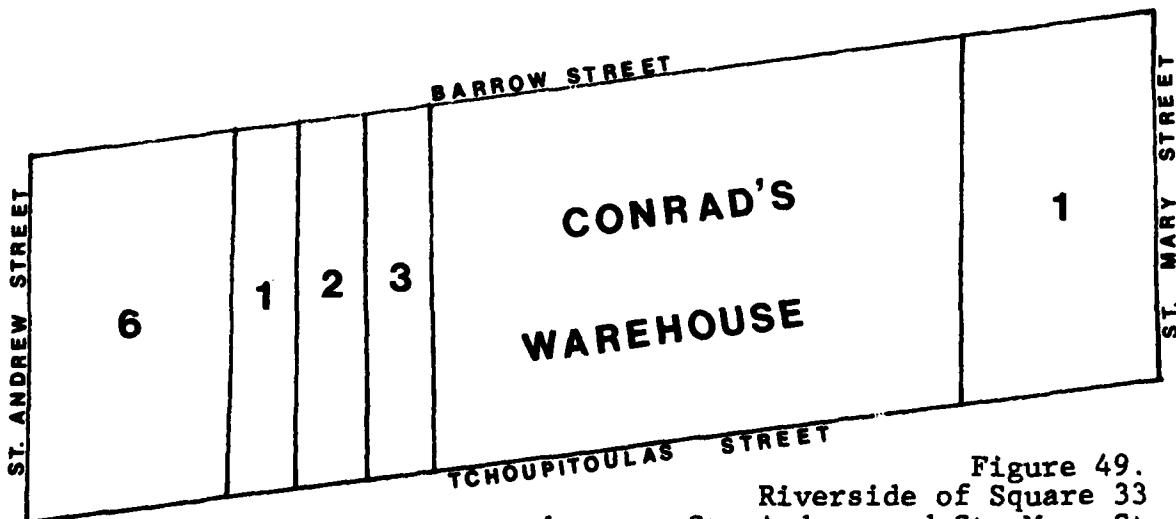


Figure 49.
Riverside of Square 33
between St. Andrew and St. Mary St.
showing Conrad's warehouse, site of the Sullivan
cotton press. (H. B. Cenas N.P.: 5/21/1856)

Armand and Michel Heine also invested in another tobacco warehouse slightly downriver. They contracted with the firm of Gallier and Turpin to build the warehouse in 1854 on the site of the Market proposed for Faubourg Annunciation but never built. Their building went up next to the site of the former Clement's distillery and later the Baxter Cotton Press [Wilson et. al. 1971: 139].

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Twin financial panics struck the New Orleans economy in the late 1830's, once in the spring of 1837 and again in the fall of 1839. Cotton prices dropped 25% over two months, and soon banks began to suspend specie payments. All but five cotton factors went bankrupt [Reed 1963: 50]. The engine that made the crash particularly severe was the widespread land speculation in New Orleans prior to 1837. Octave de Armas, probably the foremost notary of the 19th century, recalled in 1880 that he had owned speculative property prior to 1837, and had gone bust in the collapse and never owned a piece of property since. He claimed that swamp property around New Orleans had decreased in value steadily since 1837. Adolph Dupree described the speculation, "It was a kind of sickness then." He bought four arpents on the river for \$2,900 and resold them for \$80,000. Even the wily McDonogh was suckered into the malstrom, paying \$40,000 for some land that later was worth but \$1,000. Of course the notaries like Octave de Armas made large amounts of money in the speculative period handling real estate sales. His nephew described his office as "a kind of a frenzy. You could hardly buy a lot without being offered trip-ple [sic] the price for it" [U. S. Supreme Court, Transcript of Record, City of New Orleans, Appellant, vs. Myra Clark Gaines, October term, 1884, I:1003, 1009, 1014].

The resulting depression led to a slowdown in warehouse construction for several years, but in 1843 the City of Lafayette determined to build a steam boat wharf in front of square 14 (between Ninth and Harmony), [Wharf building contract, L.R. Kenny N.P.: 10/10/1844] probably because of investor activity on the square. The prospect of the new wharf then set off a rush of warehouse construction on the square. Gustave Leroy, owner of Lot BG, traded interests in his property with business partners P.F.V. and P.L. Labarre. In June, 1843 Labarre had Lafayette Surveyor Hugh Grant subdivide Lot BG and adjacent Lot BF into four equal lots, Nos. 1-4. Labarre and Leroy then built

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a two story brick warehouse on the downriver half of Lot BG (now numbered lot 3).

A plan of Lot BG showing the warehouse on the lower half of Lot BG is attached to a act of sale between members of the Labarre family [S. Magner N.P.: 8/18/1856]. Labarre and Leroy must have used the warehouse in connection with a large brickyard and sawmill that they owned and operated on the West Bank of the river directly across from Lafayette [Reeves 1980: 87,104]. No evidence has been found to indicate that they built a warehouse on the upriver half of Lot BG.

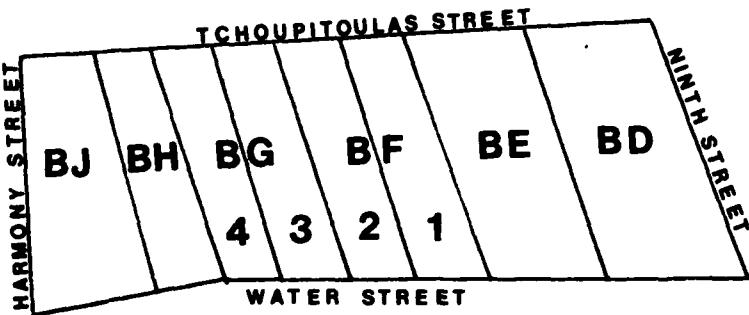


Figure 50.

Plan of Square 14 showing lots BJ to BD along with the subdivision and renumbering of lots BG and BF according to a plan of Hugh Grant in 1843.

(J. F. Coffey N.P.: 2/23/1860)

The Leroy-Labarre partnership controlled lot BG until 1860. At that time they sold out both halves of the lot to L. Auguste Bernard, a French immigrant baker who lived in the neighborhood on Eighth St. between Constance and Laurel [J.F. Coffey N.P.: 2-23-1860].

Laurent Sigur also built a warehouse on Square 14 near the lower end in 1843. In June, 1843, he purchased the bare lot from Mrs. Rachael Bannister [C. Pollock N.P.: 6/27/1843] and in February, 1844, he enumerated a "brick warehouse on Lot BE" in the list of his assets for his marriage contract to Agnes M. Roche, widow de La Ronde [A. Chiapella N.P.: 2/2/1844]. Sigur sold the property with the warehouse in 1847 to John Hoey [D. I. Ricardo N.P.: 6/2/1847], the Lafayette omnibus operator, for a good price,

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\$5,600. Following an interim owner (1849-1858), J. Xavier Bernard, the German baker, purchased the warehouse [J. F. Coffey N.P.: 11/4/1858].

In 1851, Bernard's widow Rosalie Weightman Bernard had a two story brick warehouse built on Lot BD by carpenter-brickmason John Dumond [L. R. Kenny N.P.: 2/26/1851]. Architect Charles Ferguson wrote specifications for the building. It was designed to house a feedstore at the corner of Tchoupitoulas, Ninth, and Front, and had doors on all three facades. It shared a common wall with the warehouse on Lot BE (later a brewery.)

The warehouse/feedstore's brick foundations under its three walls facing Tchoupitoulas, Ninth, and Water (Front) streets were set in a trench two feet deep. The foundations were five bricks wide at the bottom of the trench, lying on two thicknesses of cypress planking. The trench was 4'6" wide. The brick foundations narrowed one-half brick with each course until at the ground surface they were 1.5 bricks wide. Down the center of the building, which was 43' wide facing Tchoupitoulas, there were seven square pits 1'6" deep and 4'6" square, designed to receive the heavy 8x10" posts that supported framing to carry freight on the second story. Across the front on Tchoupitoulas street were four 11' high doors, each 5' wide. On Ninth Street were 4 openings, each 6' wide and 11' high. The river facade on Water Street had three openings. The roof was Welsh slate. The building had at least one chimney. The glass panes in the windows were 12"x18".

Mrs. Rosalie Bernard and several members of the Bernard family operated the feed store during the 1850s and until 1867. They also operated a coffeehouse across Tchoupitoulas Street at the corner of Ninth during that period. City directories show that in addition to Mrs. Rosalie Bernard, Xavier, Celestine, and Samuel Bernard shared business duties at the feedstore and coffee house (1850-1867).

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The next square upriver, between Pleasant and Harmony, also received an early warehouse. On March 16, 1836 Valery Delassize and the widow Avart sold the three arpents plantation for subdivision to Samuel Herman, Jr., a merchant of New Orleans, for the handsome price of \$79,345. [Felix Grima N.P.: 3/16/36] The batture property consisting of present day squares 15 and 16 was subdivided into lots A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H (square 16), J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, and R (square 15). Samuel Herman promptly sold these lots to Martin Gordon, Jr. for over \$25,000. In 1841 Gordon went bankrupt and the Merchants Bank took over the property for \$28,000 and renamed the lots on square 15 with numbers 1 through 8.

Three years later (1844) Merchants Bank turned the entire square over to the commercial firm of R. W. Milbank & Co. in satisfaction of a debt of \$16,000 the bank owed the firm. There were buildings on the square at this date, which is a significant date for this stretch of the batture for it is this year that the wharf was built in front of square 14 and brick warehouses went up in the adjoining square. [Felix Grima N.P.: 3/16/36; 5/23/36; 1/24/38; Lucien Herman N.P.: 2/8/41; G. R. Stringer N.P.: 3/20/44]

The buildings could be part of the mill business that was operated by Doherty or remains of the brickyard. In any event, when Milbank sold the property in 1854 the firm described the buildings as "the whole of their Brick Warehouses, i.e., to say about 75 feet front on Levee street, 75 feet front on Water street, by about 96 feet on Harmony street." The firm also included in the sale "the Machinery contained therein, consisting of Engines, and Boilers, Shafting, Belting, drums etc." It may be inferred that there were no other buildings on the square in 1854.

In 1854 the principals in the firm of R. W. Milbank put together a new company, "The Louisiana Manufacturing Company." Its primary goal was to produce hemp rope using Slaughter & Perry's "Improved cordage machines." Out of the initial capital of \$100,000, the firm agreed to

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pay Slaughter & Perry \$25,000 for the right to the machines in the states of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina. The new company was also to give Slaughter & Perry an additional \$13,000 to install and begin operating the machines in the brick warehouses. The specification provided that the machines should be capable of turning out from rough hemp 10,000 lbs dressed hemp and 10,000 lbs superior bale rope daily. As a distinctly secondary purpose Louisiana Manufacturing was also to produce cotton clothing for the southern trade, ie., slave goods. [Louisiana Manufacturing Company, 5/20/53]

In accordance with the agreement, Milbank turned lots 1, 2, and 3 over to Louisiana Manufacturing in September of 1853 and the following year the remainder of the square. The business probably prospered during the balance of the 1850s, but the arrival of the Civil War must have brought hard times. Just after Louisiana seceded from the Union Charles D. Singleton, president of Louisiana Manufacturing, borrowed \$16,785.84 from Leeds & Co. and promised to repay in 12 months. This proved impossible, and after the war Leeds brought suit and forced a public sale of the company [Fourth District Court, #17591, NOPL].

Another warehouse of the period came to be used as a salt warehouse. It was situated on lots AF and AE in the center of square 10 between Washington and Sixth Streets on the river. [Hugh Grant, City Surveyor for Lafayette, December 4, 1846, in D. J. Ricardo, N.P., 12/8/1846, vol 10, Act 1575]. Charles Manson specialized in importing and distributing salt throughout the South and West. He founded the business in 1850, and maintained the principal business at Tchoupitoulas and Common Streets. In 1856 a partnership of Theodore L. McGill, Theodore McGill, James Jackson, and Charles Manson purchased lots AF and AE with buildings for \$16,500. Two years later Manson bought his partners out. Later Manson took in as a partner David Jackson and the firm

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changed its name to Jackson and Manson. In 1878 Charles Manson retired and his son Robert succeeded him. Five years later another son, James Manson, bought out David Jackson, and renamed the firm Manson Bros. The property stayed in the Manson family until they sold to the City of New Orleans in 1908 [Engelhardt 1894: 110-111].

A NEW SOCIETY

By the 1850's New Orleans had firmly established a new society of rich Americans, men who had come to the city since the turn of the century and made fortunes in business. 1850 was a seminal year for the new rich for in that year three died--John McDonogh, Joseph Fowler, and Cornelius Paulding. All three were bachelors, and lived a life alien to the party-loving city. "Their lives were passed without pleasure or enjoyment of any kind, save the dry unsubstantial and unsatisfactory pleasure of laying up money. They lived alone, apart from the world...." So they were viewed by a representative French paper of the city.

John McDonogh came to the city in 1800, became a Spanish citizen, then American, and was so successful that he was able to retire from mercantile pursuits by 1806. He participated in the Battle of New Orleans as part of the Beale's regiment, and in 1817 moved to Algiers where he spent the remainder of his days. He undoubtedly managed his money shrewdly, investing in real estate, but throughout his life he supported many orphans and labored to free his slaves by returning them to Africa. He purchased many parcels along the river front, notably in the Orleans Cotton Press, Square 28 between Benjamin and Suzette, and the Macarty plantation in 1847. Economically this speculation in real estate was not beneficial for the growth of the city, but his bequest of all of his property at his death, valued at \$2,493,949.15, to charities and the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore probably balanced the scale.

Joseph Fowler's estate was valued at \$1,327,312.77 in the inventory. He died on the Steamer Ohio while traveling to New York in August, 1850, with his servant.

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Fowler worked out of the office of Wilhelmus Bogart, carrying on a practice of loaning money on real estate. He left eight brothers and sisters, but none lived in New Orleans. After the partition of his property, which included the Fowler Plantation of 1600 acres in Avoyelles Parish and waterfront property such as a portion of Square 28, his heirs gradually disposed of the land over the next 20 years. He acquired this latter property just before his death as a result of a loan he made to James Erwin, who was seeking to develop the square that had already come out of the bankrupt estate of Benjamin Morgan and later John R. Pulley. It is significant that only John McDonogh made money on that square. Erwin ran into financial difficulties, Fowler sued him, and Erwin was forced to dispose of his holdings on the square. The square was later reassembled into the Empire Cotton Press in the 1880's [Succession of Joseph Fowler, 2nd D.C. 3537, NOPL; T. Guyol N.P.: 3/24/1851].

Cornelius Paulding invested heavily in the Delord-Sarpy plantation and at his death left an estate of \$580,000. He began life as a jeweler, and like the others invested in real estate. He too owned a large part of the site of the Orleans Cotton Press.

Like McDonogh and Shepherd, Judah Touro came to New Orleans as a young man representing a northern merchant house. He was born in 1775 and arrived in New Orleans in 1802, the same year as Shepherd. Boston merchants shipped him goods on consignment just as McDonogh and Shepherd represented Baltimore merchants and Benjamin Morgan Philadelphia men. As an active and successful member of the economic life of New Orleans prior to 1814, when war came he joined Beale's regiment of volunteers and in the Battle of New Orleans he volunteered to carry cannon fodder. He was severely wounded, and abandoned temporarily, until Rezin Davis Shepherd learned of the casualty. Shepherd rushed to the line and carried Touro back to New Orleans and saved his life [Kohn: Judah Touro]. Following the war Touro continued

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his mercantile business, and like the other successful merchants he was a bachelor. He lived for considerable periods of time with the R. D. Shepherds, and was served for many years by Pierre Andre Destrac Cazenave, f.m.c., his clerk. Two weeks before his death in 1854 he summoned notary Thomas Layton and dictated his will in the presence of Henry Shepherd, Jr., Jonathan Montgomery, and George Washington Lee. Henry Shepherd was the nephew of R. D. Shepherd. Touro bequeathed \$483,000 to charities, including most of the Jewish congregations in the United States. He then wrote, "my dear, old and devoted friend the said Rezin Davis Shepherd, to whom under Divine Providence I was greatly indebted for the preservation of my life, when I was wounded on the 1st of January 1815," I name my universal legatee. This brought R. D. Shepherd a sum of between \$500,000 and \$700,000 [Thomas Layton N.P.: 1/6/1854].

Touro's largest single charity was \$80,000 given to found an Alms House for the poor of New Orleans to be named after him. Shepherd immediately stepped forward and offered to donate a double square of land for a Touro Alms House worth \$50,000, and an additional \$50,000 towards expenses. The State Legislature authorized the creation of the Touro Alms House by Act 134 of the Session of 1855. The land Shepherd donated was situated between Piety and Desire Streets, fronting the river, and was the site of the Miller and Duralde's Saw Mill. The Mill had a lease for three years that was not to expire until June of 1858 when Shepherd would give possession [Thomas Layton N.P.: 5/11/1855]. Plans were solicited in the fall of 1858 through an architectural competition, the winner, James Freret, received \$500, with the building not to cost over \$125,000.

The three year delay occasioned by the lease on the Shepherd property and other subsequent delays had the unfortunate result that the building was not completed prior to the beginning of the Civil War. The left wing of the main building did not have a roof, the front towers were not complete, the rear building did not have a roof, and neither

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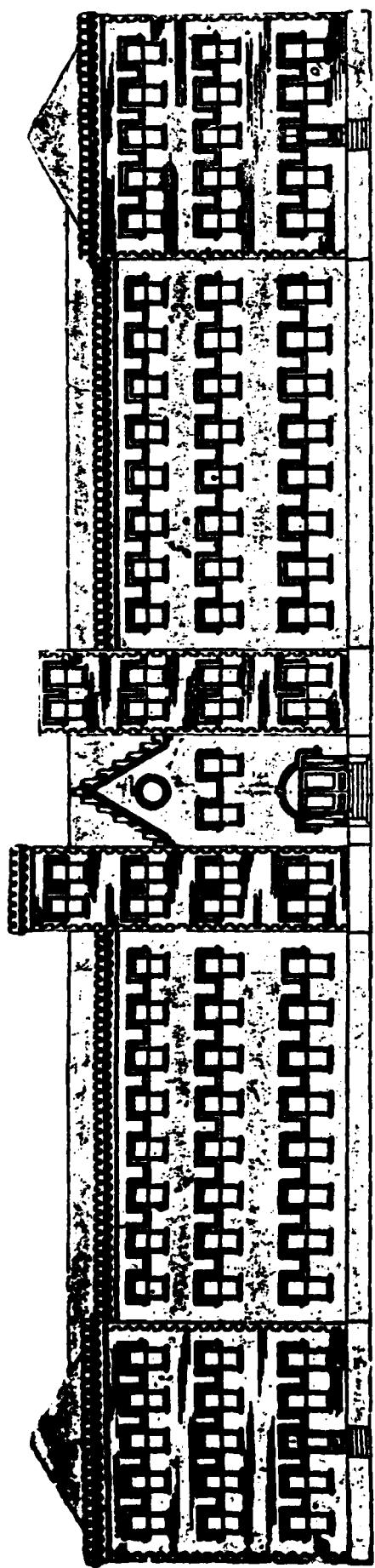


Figure 51.
Elevation of the Touro Alms House 1859-1865
located on the square bounded by N.Peters, Piety,
and Desire Streets, with an indefinite rear line.
The building was designed by the Freret Bros.
(Courtesy Vertical File, Louisiana Collection,
Tulane University Library)

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building had doors or sashes. Flooring was missing. The main building was three stories of brick, 270' long, with a center portion 52'6" wide, and two wings each 92' wide with 10' galleries on both sides of the central portion. The rear building was of two stories brick 100' long by 30' wide. The building was designed to accommodate 400 to 500 persons.

In May of 1862 Federal troops captured New Orleans and this vacant building proved an excellent barracks for the troops, specifically the Corps d'Afrique comprising the Second Marine Cavalry and the First Louisiana Cavalry. The Quartermaster Department had to spend \$50,000 to put the building into shape causing a new slate roof to be added, a stables on the front yard near the levee, a large fence around the square, two kitchen buildings 10' by 40', and a frame privy 6' by 60' in the back corner of the yard.

According to Captain Charles N. Smiley of the 81st U.S. Colored Infantry, Company B, he was called at half past ten and told a policeman wanted to see him at the front gate. He hurried out and the policeman pointed to a light in the upper story corner nearest the levee in the right wing. Smiley, perceiving a fire, called out his company to carry buckets into the building. He went to the third floor right wing (Piety Street), but couldn't get to the fire because it was dark and there was no floor on the third level. A hook and ladder fire truck arrived, but almost immediately someone cried "Powder" and panic seized the firemen and soldiers, everyone rushing away from the building. It took 15 minutes to get back to the fire, but by then it was too late. The entire building burned to the ground.

Thoughts of arsen and the incompetence of the firemen soon switched as the words, "it is them baked beans that has burned the building" began to circulate among the troops. A court of inquiry soon established that several months previously a large bake oven had been built next to the building at the right wing, utilizing a chimney of the main building. Michael Dorsen, First Sergeant of Company K, saw fire in the bake oven and ascertained the 2nd Marine

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Cavalry were baking beans at 5 p.m. M. W. Plumley, who got to the site of the fire on the 3rd floor, said he observed the rafters burning and that the iron flue had a hole in it from which sparks were flying.

Eventually the court of inquiry called James Freret and W. A. Freret, who supervised the construction of the building. They testified that there were no chimneys in the building. The bake oven had been tied into a flue put into the building for air flow only, the building was intended to be heated by steam. The flues could not serve as a chimney. The obvious conclusion was that the bake oven should never have been built [Senate Ex. Doc. No. 30, 42 Cong. 2nd Sess.].

The fire put an end to Touro's Almshouse, and in 1868 the Commissioners turned their remaining funds amounting to about \$3,000 over to the City of New Orleans and disbanded. The land remained in City hands from that date [Henry C. Dibble N.P.: 4/30/1868]. The City subsequently sued the Federal Government for the destruction of the property, but did not collect until 1915, and then it collected only \$21,000. The building would have been a fine landmark for downtown New Orleans, and it was not for another fifteen years before another almshouse was built.

Of the previously mentioned men Rezin Davis Shepherd invested the most in the riverfront of New Orleans. In 1846 he purchased the Orleans Cotton Press at a sheriff's sale caused by its bankruptcy after the fire two years previously. He paid \$270,000 for a structure that had originally cost over \$700,000. He also had a substantial interest in two squares of ground below the city with saw mills on them. He also owned a warehouse upriver in Faubourg Religieuse.

Shepherd came from a town in West Virginia named Shepherdstown. He spent a considerable part of his life in Boston and John McDonogh, his close friend, sent orphans to be educated under his supervision. In the 1840's Henry

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Shepherd, a nephew, came to New Orleans and became R. D. Shepherd's agent. Both Shepherds were friends of Judah Touro, and Henry was present at the writing of Touro's will that bequeathed about \$700,000 to R. D. Shepherd. R. D. Shepherd died in 1866, leaving about \$1,300,000 in property to his only child, Mrs. Ellen Brooks, and her two children, Shepherd Brooks and Peter C. Brooks [A. Boudousquie N.P.: 6/8/1866].

IMMIGRANTS

The immigrants came by water and along the riverfront is where they lived. The Blacks came by land, from the plantations in the hinterland, and they gradually formed a colony along the rear of the city. To this day uptown New Orleans, the dynamic part of the city in the 19th century, is generally characterized by the "Irish" channel near the river, the silk stocking belt along St. Charles, and the Black belt along Galvez Street.

In general there have been few residences along the riverfront in the site of the Floodwall. Taking the entire length of the Floodwall it is doubtful if there were ever more than 100 residential structures built on it. A meaningful discussion must consider the neighboring squares in order to assess the people most affected by the riverfront. The neighbors worked on the river, as longshoremen, as draymen, as pressmen, as spinners, as railroadmen. They crossed the site and might have left something of themselves on it.

The first immigrants to the City were the St. Domingans who arrived in large numbers in 1809. They formed part of the nucleus for the takeoff of New Orleans at that early date. They settled downtown, in the French Quarter and in the new Faubourg Marigny. Like the later Germans their contribution was mainly professional, and they did not work or live on the river edge.

The Irishmen began to come to the City in the late 1820's. They came cheaply because the ships came to pick up cotton in the booming port, and New Orleans was no market

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for imports. People looking for jobs, for a new way of life, saw New Orleans as the gateway to the fabled west, and ship-owners were anxious to bring them here at a low fare. Their first big job was the New Basin Canal, built from the rear of the booming American section to Lake Pontchartrain, and intended to subvert the old Carondelet Canal, but more especially the new Pontchartrain Railroad being built out through Faubourg Marigny to the lake. Thousands of Irishmen worked on the Canal, and thousands died of yellow fever in 1832 and other diseases.

The Irishmen came to Faubourg Delord, Saulet, Lacourse, and Annunciation and settled in shacks and tenements. Their possessions amounted to nothing, yet their children gradually grew, thousands dying in the epidemics of 1854 and 1855, and slowly they moved into politics and into finer housing. From the City Directory for 1838 it is possible to identify many of the inhabitants of Faubourgs Delord and Saulet.

By and large the inhabitants along the river front were Americans, with only a scattering of Irish. Patrick Rush was a police officer living at Suzette and New Levee, and James Helly was a laborer on Benjamin near Tchoupitoulas. These men might have been Irish. John R. Butler, the wharfinger for the 2nd Municipality, lived on St. Charles, and Jean Bozant, a Frenchmen and inspector of pork and beef, lived at the corner of Suzette and Tchoupitoulas. John Kellar operated an iron foundry in Faubourg Ste. Marie, and was probably German. John McCarty, a drayman, living at the corner of New Levee and Gaiennie, was probably Scotch.

The big flood of the Irish did not arrive until the late 1840's and the 1850's. At this point the composition of the area changed dramatically. The census of 1860 provides nationality and measures the new flood of Irish. A representative square was one bounded by S. Peters on the river side, Erato on the lower side, Thalia on the

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upper, and Tchoupitoulas on the lake side. In the middle of the S. Peter street side was a house owned by Thomas Barker referred to as a tenement. McDonnel Bryan (40) lived there, and worked as a tailor. He was from Ireland, as was his wife Julia (38). But their two children, Catherine (6) and Mary (1), were born in Louisiana. Next door were eleven Irish families, nearly all with no personal property. Arthur Carroll was a laborer, with a wife and a baby. Patrick Kelly (26) was also a laborer, with a wife and two children born in Louisiana more than 8 years before. Thomas and Jane Kiernon, also from Ireland, had a three month old baby. John and Margaret Cleary, from Ireland, had a six-year-old, William, born in Louisiana.

Around the corner of this square, on the Tchoupitoulas side, the Irish gave way to Germans. This group rivaled the Irish in numbers. They tended to be craftsmen and much better off than the Irish. A. H. Ronitz from Hanover dealt in cigars, had a wife and child, and a servant, Catherine Frengen (23) from Germany. Henry Klein, at 332 Tchoupitoulas, actually came to own his property, and was a shoemaker from Bavaria. Next door was Nicolas Walter, a grocer, who was from Bavaria along with his wife Maria. Their oldest son Felix (6) was born in Louisiana. F. Wayland, another shoemaker, was from Baden, and Jacob Kitt was from the Rhineland. On Erato lived yet another shoemaker, Fred Schurmann from Prussia, with his wife and daughter and two renters.

By the Census of 1880 the population has changed, yet there are similarities. The Irish are still along the S. Peters side and the Germans along Tchoupitoulas and Erato. Only one Irish family persists from 1860, while several of the German families are still around. The difference is the arrival of a large Black colony on the corner of S. Peters and Thalia, probably actually on Thalia. These Blacks are living in family units just as the Irish and Germans. John Simmons (35) was a laborer from Louisiana, his wife Catherine (35) was from Missouri. Granville Edwards (41)

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laborer, was from Kentucky, his wife from Louisiana, and their two children, Mary Jane (12) and Laura Ann (8) from Louisiana, were both in school. York Power (25) was from Missouri, and his wife Mary Jane was from Louisiana. James Briggs (40) was a farm laborer from Mississippi, as was his wife Mary (28), who worked as a domestic servant. Their daughter Belina (10) was also from Mississippi, and was attending school. These Black families resembled sociologically the early Irish, and the percentage in family structures equalled the other immigrants.

The middle decades of the nineteenth century continued the trends established in New Orleans in the earlier decades. The dock and levee infra-structure continued to grow. Warehouses along the docks sprang up but significant manufacturing lagged. The richest men in the City, exemplified by John McDonogh, invested in land speculation, a comparatively passive form of investment that in many cases slowed New Orleans' growth. They well may have been imitating the French creoles whose vast landholdings yielded such rich rewards through subdivision at the beginning of the century. The new waves of Irish and German immigration was largely wasted as vast numbers died in the epidemics of 1832, 1853 and 1854. Many others moved on to other towns and cities in the United States. Those who stayed filled the menial jobs in commerce, but had little impact on the overall shape of the New Orleans economy.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1860-1900

RAILROADS

In the early 19th century the building of docks dramatically changed the face of the river front. In the late 19th century railroads redefined the riverfront for a second time. Economically they were invaluable to the port and the city, but in a cultural sense they erected a wall between the port and the city. From one track to two tracks, from four tracks to six, citizen accessibility to the riverfront declined. Contributing to the decline was the appearance of a new kind of riverfront warehouse, not the 1840's brick warehouse situated on city squares along Tchoupitoulas, but new steel wharves on top of the docks that served as an immediate shelter for the varied imports of the city.

Business use of the riverfront witnessed the continuation and expansion of the cotton press in keeping with the resurgence of cotton exports from New Orleans in



Figure 52.

The levee and wharf area before the arrival of the steel sheds at the end of the century. (Englehardt 1904: 92, courtesy Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library)

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1860-1900: RAILROADS

the 1870's and 1880's. For the first time the sugar business established a particular site for its commerce comparable with the concentration of cotton presses above Faubourg Delord. Sugar sheds and the Sugar Exchange were built below Canal Street down to Toulouse Street. The brewing industry sprang forth, with several plants along the riverfront, Lafayette, Pelican, and Jackson. Greatly facilitating the brewing industry was the appearance of the ice manufacturing plant that by the end of the century made the importation of ice a thing of the past. Cooling plants were a part of every large brewing plant. The first large grain elevator was built at the upper end of the developed riverfront.

The first railroad in the state of Louisiana was built along the Marigny canal, the site of Elysian Fields, extending from the river to the lake. Designed to stimulate the commercial development of the lower part of the city, it worked well for the first years. It led to the creation of a new port and town on the lake shore, Milneberg. It also prompted the dynamic Americans uptown to build a new canal to the lake, a canal that was enormously profitable for the booming uptown suburbs for it brought in cheap building materials from north of the lake. In the year ending August 31, 1861 the New Basin canal unloaded 5,670,000 bricks, 36,055,000 board feet of lumber, and 3,098,000 shingles [Commercial Bulletin, Price Current, and Shipping List, 9/7/1861]. These amounts dwarfed the old Carondelet canal and the Pontchartrain Railroad, which became principally a passenger route. Milneburg served as a transhipment point to Mobile via steamers or schooners. The success of the New Basin canal probably contributed to the failure of an uptown line to the lake and beyond, the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad. Chartered in 1836 it was a victim of the depression of 1837. The 31 completed miles were torn up and sold for scrap. In 1851, as a result of the inspired oratory of James Robb, New Orleans banker and commission merchant, two new railroad organizations were formed--the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Railroad and the New Orleans,

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Opelousas and Great Western Railroad. Both successfully raised capital, including a significant grant from the City of New Orleans, and by 1860 both lines had reached their destination. Meanwhile, however, the need for a line to Mobile had become apparent, and the Pontchartrain Railroad was the logical organization to build it. Management proposed the line and even secured a grant from the city after a positive vote by the people. When the stockholders learned of the provision that dividends would have to be deferred during the period of construction they revolted and insured that a New Orleans company would not make the vital eastward connection [Reeves 1963:118].

The arrival of the Civil War shut down the Pontchartrain Railroad and Charles Morgan, Gulf of Mexico steamship magnate, quickly purchased the line. Before the war he had been the most successful shipper between New Orleans and Mobile, he sought to buy up any possible competition. After the Civil War (1867) the city council granted the company a franchise to extend its tracks across the Vieux Carre riverfront to terminate in the American sector at Girod. Morgan built this first riverfront line to solidify his control of rail routes from New Orleans to Mobile. The New Orleans, Mobile & Texas railroad took over the Pontchartrain in 1871. The riverfront franchise then went to Morgan's Louisiana & Texas line.

This route established the earliest railroad across the floodwall site. Its councilmanic authorization had specified the right-of-way "from Elysian Fields along the curbstones bordering the levee to St. Peter Street, thence along the center of Clay Street to Toulouse, thence on the levee to the intersection of Delta and Canal Streets, and then along Delta Street to Girod Street." The company was to pave between the tracks with square blockstones, and not to operate its trains faster than five miles per hour [Ordinance 664 N.S., July 13, 1867].

By the Civil War the New Orleans, Opelousas &

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Great Western Railroad had completed eighty miles of line from New Orleans to Brashear (now Morgan) City on Berwick's Bay. The line originated at Algiers just below Algiers Point. From its earliest operation the company used a private ferry to carry passengers and freight across the river from New Orleans to Algiers. By act before notary P. E. Theard in July, 1855, the City had granted the N.O.O.& G.W. (hereafter the Opelousas) the use of a 150 foot wide landing at St. Ann Street for its ferry, provided the vessel ran every twenty minutes. In 1858 the City relocated the designated ferry landing to the area between Toulouse and Jefferson Streets. The company used this section until 1862 when Union Armies captured New Orleans and took over the railroad. During the war the Union-run company used military docks at the foot of Canal St. After the war the company planned to move its ferry dock back to Toulouse, but the City constructed a long series of steamship docks along the Toulouse frontage. In 1867 the City demanded that the Opelousas move from the foot of Canal to St. Ann street, where it was given 125 feet [Ordinance 799 N.S., December 19, 1867].

Charles Morgan had already acquired control of the Pontchartrain Railroad; he now sought to purchase the Opelousas. Morgan had long been concerned with the high cost of bringing ships into New Orleans. His business paid high property taxes, pilotage fees, and wharfage fees to city collectors. Morgan was inclined to seek another site as a base for his steamships calling at Galveston and Houston. Increasing competition from railroad transportation impressed him, most notably competition provided by the Opelousas. Extended from Brashear City to Lafayette, the Sabine, and Houston, the railroad could destroy his shipping business. To preclude this possibility, Morgan began buying bonds and stocks of the company, only to find himself in competition with the Illinois Central Railroad for control of the line. Through some clever legal moves Morgan forced the Opelousas into a Sheriff's Sale, where he purchased it for \$2,050,000.

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in May of 1869 [Baughman 1962: 173].

The following year Morgan renamed the Opelousas line the "Louisiana & Texas." He rebuilt and expanded its St. Ann Street facility in 1871 to allow for ferrying loaded railroad cars across the river. He moved his steamers from a New Orleans base to one at Brashear on the Atchafalaya River. He made an unsuccessful effort to build a major wharf just below Girod Street, the head of the Pontchartrain waterfront tracks, but met defeat in a political battle with a rival line [Baughman 1962: 181].

The rival line was the New Orleans, Mobile & Chattanooga Railroad, chartered originally in 1866. In 1870 it completed a line from Mobile to New Orleans and almost immediately put Morgan's steamers out of business between those two points. The important Northern Republicans who financed the Chattanooga line gave it considerable influence in the reconstruction-era Louisiana legislature. When Morgan tried to get the Girod street wharf area, the legislature not only blocked him, but awarded a New Orleans-to-Texas charter to the rival Chattanooga railroad, which promptly changed its name to the New Orleans, Mobile and Texas Railroad [Baughman 1962: 190]. Morgan's steamers had already been extinguished to the east, was his Opelousas line, the Louisiana & Texas, to be smashed in the west?

The New Orleans, Mobile & Texas created Westwego as the terminus for a line heading first to Donaldsville, completed in 1871. Financial pressure finally led the two rivals to sign a complex compromise agreement in 1871 apportioning routes so as to avoid killing competition, but the Texas line did not have the capital to exploit its routes. By 1873 it was in bankruptcy. In 1880 the Louisville & Nashville took over the New Orleans, Mobile & Texas. The Donaldsonville line was spun off that year to the New Orleans & Pacific, to become the beginning of the line to Shreveport.

The L & N retained the Mobile route of the old New

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1860-1900: RAILROADS

Orleans, Mobile & Chattanooga and became the major carrier eastward from New Orleans. In the 1880's it completed two tracks along the riverfront just inside of Morgan's Louisiana & Texas. These two lines remain today along the floodwall right of way.

In 1879 the City Council granted Morgan's Louisiana & Texas the right to use the riverfront from Barracks to Marigny Streets, with an option on the next area downriver should the company acquire the square fronting its batture. The square would serve as a transhipment point for railroad traffic across the river. A condition of the riverfront franchise was that the railroad should build a line from Berwick Bay to the Sabine River. Morgan was to move and rebuild the Port Market, the Esplanade wharf, and the Third District Ferry Landing. All tracks in the area were to be laid under the supervision of the City Surveyor [Ordinance 6015 A.S., June 18, 1879].



Figure 53.
Transfer Landing of the Southern Pacific Railroad
on the Levee at the head of Esplanade and Elysian
Fields Avenues. The floodwall alignment should
follow just to the lake side of the center group
of tracks. (Englehardt 1894: 67)

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But Charles Morgan had died in 1878 at the age of 83, in absolute control of a network of railroads and ships. His successors, notably Charles Whitney, kept the railroad growing, but they were soon successfully wooed by Southern Pacific's Collis P. Huntington. By 1884 Huntington had purchased the controlling stock of Louisiana & Texas from Morgan's heirs, and Morgan's Railroad and shipping interests became part of the Southern Pacific.

In addition to the L & N and Southern Pacific tracks, the Vieux Carre floodwall site contains tracks of the New Orleans Public Belt railroad. The earliest "Belt" railroad apparently evolved out of the needs of the New Orleans Grain Elevator Company located on another portion of the floodwall right-of-way at Tchoupitoulas near Harmony Street. In 1877 the City granted to Len J. Higby and Adolph Schreiber, President and officers of the elevator company, the right to construct a railroad from Louisiana Avenue downriver to Julia Street, with the provision that the connection between the grain elevator and the New Orleans, Jackson & Great Northern tracks at Calliope be completed in nine months. Significantly, the ordinance allowed Higby and Schreiber to assign their rights, which they transferred to the Commercial Transit Company. This company then adopted the name New Orleans Belt Railroad Company. The belt began on Claiborne Avenue at the intersection of the St. Louis & Chicago Railroad tracks, followed Claiborne to Louisiana Ave., Louisiana Ave. to Water Street, Water to Julia, and out Julia to St. Joseph along the route of the St. Louis & Chicago RR tracks to the point of beginning. Its franchise required the belt line to service trains of other lines for a reasonable fee, and it could not carry passengers.

The belt line ordinance provided a strong inducement for a unified passenger terminal in New Orleans. It actually granted the railroad a right to build down Claiborne to Canal Street in return for constructing a passenger terminal. The ordinance further granted the railroad the right to use the neutral ground on Claiborne

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from Common Street to Canal for ninety-nine years for such a terminal, even though the line's initial charter expired in only twenty years. This offer, conditioned on legislative approval, finally expired unused. [Ordinances 4009 A.S.(June 28, 1877); 4279 A.S. (December 26, 1877); 4371 A.S. (February 15, 1878); 6166 A.S.(November 5, 1879)]

The expansion of steam railways in the 1880's caused turmoil on the city streets. Many lines received permission to run their trains right through the middle of the city belching steam and cinders. Long trains tied up many an intersection. Added to this public nuisance was the problem of the L & N's and the Southern Pacific's occupation of the levees. The city had long held that the levees and battures were public property, and citizens resented the railroad seizure of the levees. Merchants were furious about the railroads' high tariffs for moving goods to and from and between wharves. Following common practice of the time, railroads charged what the traffic would bear, but many merchants felt this short range view would drive business away from the city.

In 1888 one hundred and ninety merchants joined to found the Public Belt Railroad Association, led by J. E. Auvray. Their goal was to open tracks on the levees to all carriers at a simple and reasonable fee. Another goal was to remove all railroads from city streets [Echezabel 1931]. The Association promoted its public belt concept for twelve years, and achieved success in August 1900 when the Council passed an ordinance authorizing city construction of the line. In 1906 the Public Belt Railroad Commission laid the main line track that now underlies the New Orleans flood-wall's principal axis.

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THE THIRD GENERATION OF RIVERFRONT BUSINESSES

The rebirth of New Orleans as the principal sugar market of the nation was greatly aided by another complex of structures erected on the riverfront just after the Civil War. These were the sugar warehouses.



Figure 54.
The sugar landing in 1894. The sheds are to the left of the picture. (Englehardt 1894: 11)

In 1869 the city decided to concentrate the receiving and shipping of sugar at a sugar landing between Customhouse and St. Louis streets [Fig. 54]. It granted a concession to Francis B. Fleitas to build sugar sheds on all the public spaces between those two streets. Fleitas was a speculator who before the Civil War had been a clerk. Although his war record was totally undistinguished, and featured a long period during which he was "absent without leave," he secured employment after the war with the firm of Warren, Crawford & Co., and lived uptown at 254 Jackson [Edwards', 1870]. He offered to build sheds to serve as a combination market and temporary storage depot for sugar to

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be sold in the New Orleans market.

These fireproof sheds were built at Fleitas' expense according to plans by the City Surveyor. Since the City gave Fleitas a monopoly, it dictated that his storage charges could be only twenty-five cents per month per hogshead of sugar and fifteen cents per barrel of molasses. Fleitas paid a rent of ten percent of his gross for the twenty-five year privilege, and the city agreed not to construct any other sugar landings for its duration. As was customary at the time, Fleitas quickly assigned his rights to a company, the New Orleans Sugar Shed Company [Ordinance #1528 N.S., August 14, 1869; Ordinance #4492 A.S., May 8, 1878; H. J. Leovy and C. H. Luzenberg, Digest of Ordinances, 1870: 498].

Sheds A, B, D, and E opened in 1870, and though two more sheds were projected they were never built. Sheds A and D were located on the river side of the Louisiana & Texas Railroad, with shed D the downriver site. Shed B stood between Front Street and the Railroad tracks, from Iberville to Bienville. Shed E was downriver, between Clay Street and the tracks from Conti to St. Louis [See Figure 10].

Sheds A and D were the only sugar sheds to be erected on the Floodwall site. Shed A was the largest of the four sheds, with an interior mezzanine reached by stairs at either end of the building. The mezzanine was lit by a long central clear story making the overall height of the building fifty-six feet. Curiously the floor of the sugar sheds was not raised significantly above the surrounding terrain, and water frequently got on to the floor [New Orleans Republican, 12/13/1870]. The sheds were essentially a roof held up by iron posts, leaving a clearance of fifteen feet [Sanborn, 1896]. The available evidence suggests the sheds did not have a significant foundation, such as a concrete slab.

For thirteen years sugar brokers used the sheds, particularly the upstairs mezzanine in Shed A, as the

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trading center for Louisiana sugar. In 1883 the leading brokers put up money to build a Sugar Exchange, a handsome building adjoining the four sugar sheds with all then-modern conveniences. From here for almost half a century the likes of Edward Gay and Samuel and Isaac Delgado made the price of Louisiana sugar.

The sugar sheds were demolished by the turn of the 20th century, a fate that befell many of the riverfront businesses because of the need for railroads or levee setbacks. In the 1880's a fertilizer company was constructed on the riverfront above Jackson Avenue. It appeared on a site formerly belonging to the land developer for the Faubourg Panis, Robert Layton. This square stretched between Philip and Soraparu and by the 1850's the center of the square contained brick buildings and a three story brick warehouse. These buildings survived until 1881 when Albert Baldwin and others organized the Southern Manufacturing and Exporting Company of New Orleans.

This company apparently was formed to prepare fertilizer from animal fats according to the "Mege Patent", and the company was to have the exclusive right in Louisiana and Texas. The company was apparently not too successful, for six years later it sold out to the Planters Fertilizer Manufacturing Company for \$5,500. This company acquired lot S on the downriver end of the square the following year and operated until 1904. The company then sold everything to Empire Rice Mill, which four years later sold out to the City of New Orleans for levee movement.

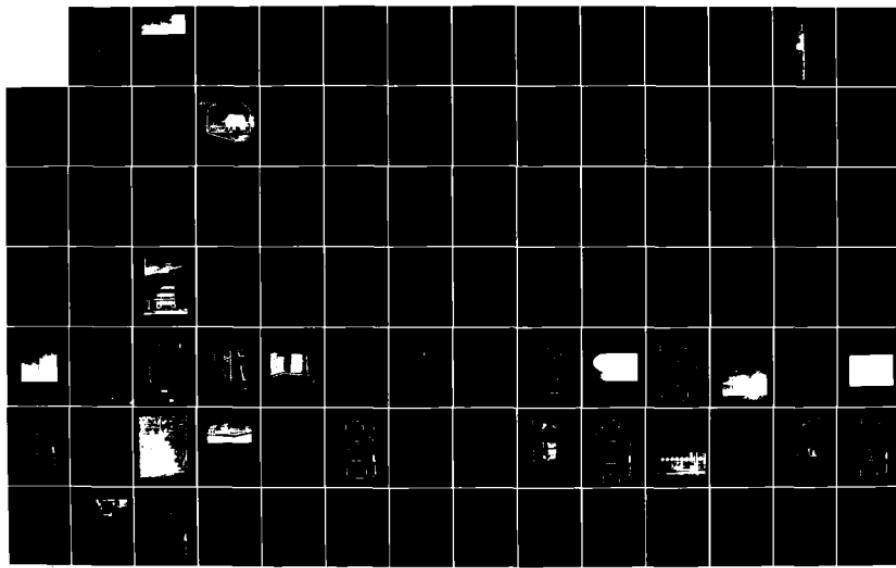
Along the river in the square between Philip and Jackson an English shipping concern established their docks about 1873, the Mississippi & Dominion Steamship Co. Ltd. By 1891 they were ready to move and sold out to the American White Lead and Color Works, a major riverfront business for about a decade.

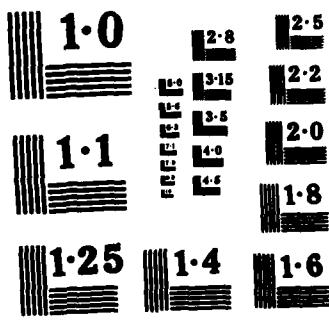
Immediately after the Civil War, there were a number of small brewing enterprises in New Orleans, most begun by German immigrants who transported their culture to

AD A145 984 ARCHIVAL EVALUATION OF FLOODWALL ALIGNMENTS: NEW
ORLEANS (LOUISIANA) U1 REEVES (SALLY K AND WILLIAM D) NEW
ORLEANS LA S K REEVES ET AL 15 NOV 83 PD RC 83 07
UNCLASSIFIED DACH29 R2 M 1980 3/4

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Figure 55.

The steamship Loango, of the Elder, Dempster & Co.'s line, at American White Lead and Color Works' Wharf. The Tchoupitoulas edge of the buildings is just to the river side of the flood-wall alignment. (Englehardt 1894: 77)

New Orleans [Nau 1958: 63-68]. Many German immigrants settled in the City of Lafayette. There were 11,425 Germans in New Orleans in 1850, about ten percent of the city's population. By 1870, the German population in New Orleans had grown to over 15,000, and tens of thousands more had passed through the city in immigrating to the United States during the preceding twenty years [Nau 1958: 6-8]. In 1867, the Lafayette Brewery was one of eighteen breweries listed in Gardner's City Directory.

Bassemier and Guenther started the brewery in a twenty year-old brick warehouse first built by attorney Laurent Sigur in late 1843 to serve commerce on the steamboat wharf in front of the square. The brewery began as a modest, almost literally a "home brew" operation called "Lafayette Brewery" by its two founders. The brewery was located on the square between Ninth Street and Harmony Street, between Tchoupitoulas and the river. Its first building was 43' off the corner of Ninth.

Laurent Sigur built it between June, 1843, when he purchased the bare lot from Mrs. Rachael Bannister [C. Pollock N.P.: 6/27/1843] and February, 1844, when he

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enumerated a "brick warehouse on Lot BE" in the list of his assets for his marriage contract to Agnes M. Roche, widow de La Ronde [A. Chiapella N.P.: 2/2/1844]. Sigur sold the property with the warehouse in 1847 to John Hoey [D. I. Ricardo N.P.: 6/2/1847], the Lafayette omnibus operator, for a good price, \$5,600. Following an interim owner (1849-1858), J. Xavier Bernard, the German baker, purchased the warehouse [J. F. Coffey N.P.: 11/4/1858].

During Bernard's ownership the building was converted into a small time brewery by Bassemier and Guenther. Their business faced Front Street. They operated the brewery until Bassemier died, and Bassemier's heirs sold to the Wegmann brothers in 1884. The Wegmann purchase of 1884 [J. F. Coffey 6/18/1884] provides the first description of the brewery apparatus. In the warehouse-turned-brewery facing Front Street were:

6hp upright steam engine	malt mill
1 tubular boiler, pulleys, shafting	2 coolers
7 cisterns or vats	malt, hops,
1 80-gal. copper kettle	molasses
1 No. 6 Blake pump	firewood
1 No. 2 Cameron pump	

There was also a large frame building facing Front Street, used as a stable. It had nine stalls, sets of harness, and there were 11 horses.

In 1887, Joseph Wegmann purchased his brother's interest in the brewery [J. D. Taylor 6/24/1887]. This sale specifies the same brewery buildings and apparatus, except that the Cameron pump had been exchanged for a Blake pump.

A year after Joseph Wegmann purchased the brewery he sold out to the Lafayette Brewing Company, incorporated in December, 1887 [J.D. Taylor N.P.: 12/3/1887]. Joseph Wegmann was one of the main stockholders of the Lafayette Brewing Company, but in his act of sale to the company he agreed upon a "non-competition" clause, binding himself not to engage in the brewing business in Orleans Parish for five years after 1888 [J.D. Taylor N.P.: 1/26/1888].

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After 1888, the Lafayette Brewing Company vastly increased the capacity of the Lafayette Brewery. They purchased all of the land on Square 14 except for the two lots at the Harmony Street end of the square (BH and BJ). They built a fine new four story brewhouse, described in the building contract as located at Tchoupitoulas and Ninth Street, but really straddling lots BG, BF, BE, and part of BD. The new brewhouse was designed by New Orleans architect William Fitzner [See Fig. 50 for plan of square. J.D. Taylor N.P.:XIX-3387].

The company employed a professional brewmaster from Chicago, and built sophisticated refrigerating machinery, tanks, engines, and storage casks. Professional brewmaster Martin Huss of Chicago was the chief brewer at Lafayette Brewing Company. As brewmaster he had control of employment and was paid \$3,000 per year. Huss may have been one of the brewmasters let go in the retrenchment program begun by the New Orleans Brewing Association in 1890. However, in just over two years, from January, 1888, to May, 1890, they increased the capital value of the Lafayette Brewery from \$12,000 to \$150,00 [J.D.Taylor N.P.: 1/26/1888; 5/31/1890]. By 1890 the brewery complex consisted of:

- A 4-story brick brewhouse (on Lots BG to part of BD)
- Cold storage and beer cellar in a 4-story brick building, which appears from the 1896 Sanborn map to be an extension of or part of the brewhouse
- A 2-story brick office (on Lot BD at corner)
- A 2-story brick building containing two ice machines, and engine (straddled rear of BE and BD)
- Boiler house containing two boilers (rear of BD)
- Wash houses and shipping sheds (rear of BG, BF, and BE)

In January, 1888 [J. D. Taylor N.P.:XIX, 3412], the company contracted with Fred W. Wolf Co. of Chicago to supply and install in the cellars two 25-ton daily capacity No. 5 "Linde" refrigerating machines, two Corliss 14x36 engines connected to the Linde, two improved iron condensing tanks, coils, and connections, three improved brine tanks, coils, and connections, one cellar cooling brine pump, and one pump for "Boudelette" beer cooling. The company agreed

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to provide water supply, waste pipes and steam and exhaust pipes for this apparatus. This machinery and apparatus was in the portion of the brewery that occupied Lot BG.

Wolf's contract cost the brewery \$23,000. However, their machinery was guaranteed to cool cellar rooms of 260,000 cubic feet and daily to cool a brewing of 100 barrels of beer over and above the "Baudelotte" brewing. However, the Chicago company specified that the brewery supply the machines a well water connection. They guaranteed the consumption of coal and water by their machines to be "no more than are used by any other compression machine--" approximately four gross tons of coal in 24 hours and 50 gallons of water per minute. The brewery had to have a private water line to provide that amount of water to the machines, and to use for brewing. Therefore the Common Council of New Orleans granted the company the right to extend its water pipeline into the river [Ordinance 2900 and 3155, Council Series]. The Lafayette Brewery, like the Louisiana Brewery, brewed its beer from water right out of the Mississippi River, filtered of course.

The brewery was to provide a suitable building, foundations for the engines, pumps and tanks, anchors bolts and pumps, steam boiler power to operate the plant, and salt for making the brine and ammonia.

In the same cold storage and beer cellars were probably also the company's storage casks. In January, 1888, the brewery engaged Steffan & Klamt of New Orleans to supply and place on blocking forty-seven 105-barrel storage casks of planed white oak. They were made of 8' to 10' staves and one inch-thick iron rods with twelve 8-gauge iron hoops. They were set on a rail foundation.

By 1890, there were too many breweries for the New Orleans market to sustain [Nau 1958: 64-67]. Several of the larger German brewing companies at that time decided to consolidate, forming a consortium known as the New Orleans Brewing Association. The Association was actually a holding company which owned the Lafayette, Pelican, Louisiana,

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Southern, Weckerling, and Crescent Breweries [L.C. Quintero N.P.: 10-4-1899]. These were located all around New Orleans:

Lafayette:	Tchoupitoulas & Ninth
Pelican:	North Peters & Clouet
Louisiana:	Jackson Avenue & Tchoupitoulas
Southern:	St. Louis & Villere
Weckerling:	Howard & Magazine
Crescent:	Canal & Claiborne

The holding company also owned a number of retail establishments in the city. Peter Blaise of the Southern Brewery was its president. Ernest Pragst was secretary.

According to Nau [1958: 66], the Brewing Association "went into a program of consolidation" which resulted in the closing of the Lafayette and Crescent Breweries and the firing of four of six brewmasters. Nau, who collected his information about German breweries in New Orleans from an interview with John Rettenmeier in December, 1952, reports that the Association's efforts to consolidate were unsuccessful, and that "one brewery after another was lost." The Association did go into receivership in 1899 when its major creditor the Metropolitan Bank sued for collection of debts [CDC 47,534, 7/3/1899]. These court records however show that the Association still owned all six of the breweries in 1899, along with their retail establishments. The Lafayette brewery buildings were still very much in existence.

In October, 1899, a consortium led by Gustave Adolphe Blaffer, Jean Edmond Merilh, and Charles Hernsheim purchased all of the assets of the New Orleans Brewing Association for a scant \$860,000 [L.C. Quintero N.P.: 10/4/1899] and reorganized as the New Orleans Brewing Company [F.J. Puig N.P.: 10/9/1899] with a capitalization of almost \$2 million. The Lafayette Brewery was closed in 1893 and its real estate became part of the New Orleans Brewing Company. In 1908 the Brewing Company sold the real estate to the City of New Orleans for the Public Belt Railroad right-of-way. [W. V. Seeber N.P.: 6/22/1908; Daily States, 8/31/1899; 8/31/1900]. The large brewhouse appears at the

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far right of a photograph in George Engelhardt's The City of New Orleans published in 1894 [Figure 56].

A second brewery sits squarely across the right-of-way--the Pelican Brewing Company, acquired in 1890 by the brewing association just like the Lafayette. Its major building on the floodwall site was described as "The brewing house, a large substantial four-story brick building, containing brew works and engines...." The site also contained a second four-story brick building, brick stable, boiler room, wagon sheds, and an ice manufacturing plant erected by the De La Vergne Refrigerating Company. The brewery also contained its own waterworks and electricity plant, and had a capacity of 30,000 barrels per year [COB 172/736].

Ice houses were a distinctively 19th century business that had a small impact along the riverfront. Ice was imported until after the Civil War from New England, and later from Illinois. Bostonian Frederick Tudor invented the commercial business of shipping ice in 1806. He was a dynamic 21-year-old son of an old family, whose brother William suggested at party what a fine idea it would be for him to harvest the ice from a nearby pond and sell it in the South. Frederick seized on the idea and soon shipped 130 tons to Martinique, a venture that failed, but that confirmed Tudor in his determination to learn about the melting rate of ice and the construction of ice houses.

He spent fifteen years improving the methods of constructing ice houses, and built them in Charleston, Havana, and the East and West Indies. He soon became a partner with Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth, a man of inventive temperament, who developed a method of cutting exactly square or rectangular blocks of ice from the pond, an essential step in economical storing. Forty years after Tudor made his first plunge in the ice business, Boston was exporting 65,000 tons of ice a year, and ten years later it was twice that. At New Orleans imported ice increased from 400 tons in the 1820's to about 28,000 tons in the 1850's [American Cyclopedias 1860:IX, 435; Boorstin, Americana, 1965:10-15].

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In the spring of 1819 Richard Salmon constructed the first ice house in New Orleans partially with a grant from the New Orleans City Council. It was known as the New Orleans Ice House. His first cargo arrived at the end of June, and he devised a subscriber system to distribute it. He announced that he could not deliver because of the heat, but would create a two bucket system, whereby subscribers would bring an empty bucket each day to the ice house and pick up 2 pounds of ice. Subscribers had to pay \$5.00 for 30 tickets, and each entitled a subscriber to 2 lbs. This amounted to 8 1/3 cents per pound, but non-subscribers would have to pay 12 1/2 cents per pound. He expected to be able to deliver in the future at 3 to 4 cents per pound. He informed his subscribers that they can effectively keep ice in folds of flannel.

Shortly afterwards Salmon announced the opening of his mineral water facility, and by the middle of July he had three stores selling mineral water, liquid magnesia, and ice creams. His business started slowly, grossing only \$10.00 a day for his investment of \$10,000 [L'Ami des Lois et Journal de Commerce, 7/5/1819, 7/13/1819]. Whether Salmon was connected with Frederick Tudor is not clear, but the following year Tudor himself opened an ice house in New Orleans, and in 1828 he opened a second near the produce markets at the foot of Poydras street. The ice trade remained unchanged over the next few decades prior to the Civil War. In 1840 James Copeland Parker purchased four lots on St. Thomas Street and opened a substantial ice house costing \$20,000 [Wm. E. Turner vs. J. C. Parker, E. E. Parker, & John Mitchell, Commercial Court #5525, NOPL; Wm. Y. Lewis N.P.: 2/20/1839; MOB 45/235, Orleans Parish Mortgage Office].

By 1844 a Boston firm of Gage, Hittinger and Co. owned the ice house, and in February of 1854 it had on hand 650 tons of ice [John Cragg N.P.: 2/28/1854]. The successors of the ice house continued to own it until 1893 when it

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became parts of the Semmes-Parker Manufacturing Company, a cotton mill. In the 1870's it became part of the warehouse chain of the Crescent City Ice Company.

In July of 1865 the new firm of Hensler, Labarre & Co. opened the first ice manufacturing plant in New Orleans in a small cotton press at the corner of Tchoupitoulas and Orange. It was soon incorporated under the name of the Louisiana Ice Manufacturing Company and subscribers rushed to put up capital. The firm offered shares at \$50.00 a share, a price designed to let the common man participate in the company. The Daily True Delta observed, "The projectors of the company are gentlemen of high standing as merchants of New Orleans" [11/9/1865]. The partners were trying to sell \$500,000 worth of stock.

The firm used a process invented by Casne & Co. of Paris. Hensler & Labarre carefully described it for the newspaper public. A slow fire frees ammonia from water as a gas, that is pressurized in pipes and cooled by running water. When it becomes a liquid, the pipes carry it through tightly packed salt around molds into which water is poured. Slowly the liquid ammonia turns back into a gas and absorbs heat and thereby cools the salt surrounding the molds and freezes the water. They were able to get the ice down to 12 to 15 degrees below freezing.

The company operated three separate machines, each with two men capable of producing 1,800 lbs of ice every 24 hours. The company did well initially, since the summer of 1865 witnessed a dramatic shortage of ice due to the delay of the ice ships from Boston. Ice was selling for up to \$100 a ton, and Louisiana Manufacturing could sell ice for \$25.00 a ton, or 1 1/4 a lb. Their ice was not of the best quality, however, since the firm had to process river water, and certain manufacturing flaws led to an opaque color in the ice that made it less desirable. Bars and restaurants paid up to 10 cents a lb. for ice [Daily Picayune, 8/10/1865, 8/13/1865; 10/10/1865].

By the early 1870's there were three ice

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wholesalers in New Orleans. The Crescent City Ice Company supplied two-thirds of the ice of New Orleans, and was a consolidation of several older companies. It did not manufacture, but continued to import ice, half from Boston, some from Maine, and a significant quantity from Lake Peru in Illinois, a source that had appeared in the 1850's. Ice came in 250 lb. blocks in shipments of 1,000 to 1,500 tons each. The company only employed about 40 men in the business. The second company continued to be the Louisiana Ice Manufacturing Co. which sold 6,707 tons in 1871 produced by six machines. It now sold its ice for one cent a lb. The third supplier was the Orleans Ice Co., but its sources were very unreliable.

At this time in the early 1870's New Orleans consumed about 50 tons a ice a day in the winter and 175 tons in the summer. The principal patrons were the ice wagons that made home deliveries, each took from one to five tons a day. Steamboats were the next largest users, followed by ice cream saloons, soda fountains, hotels and drinking saloons. The St. Charles and City Hotels each used 1,500 to 2,500 lbs. a day. Hugh McCloskey, "of soda water fame," required 1,800 to 2,000 lbs. of ice a day for his two saloons [Daily Picayune, 10/3/1872].

By the 1890's ice importation had become uneconomical as new ice manufacturing processes drove the cost down. In 1890 the Crescent City Ice Company began operating its first two ice machines with a capacity of about 70 tons each (Stratton Improved Absorption Machines). The company was part of a national syndicate that owned ice plants in many other cities such as Savannah and Mobile [Daily Picayune, 4/3/1890]. The principal new firms were the Municipal Ice Company, owned by Judah Hart of New York, who erected an ice house at the corner of Market Street and Water in the square bounded by S. Peters, St. James, Water, and Market Streets in 1891 [J. D. Taylor N.P.: 3/26/1891; Jeff. C. Wenck N.P.: 1/30/1892]. The Municipal Ice Company

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bought the property in 1892, was forced to sell to the Crescent City Ice Company in 1899, and in 1905 the New Orleans Railways and Light Company bought the site. Today it is the site of a New Orleans Public Service power station.

In 1893 a northern syndicate was formed to acquire ownership of all of the ice companies of New Orleans. Per capita New Orleans ice consumption was only one third that of northern cities. The reason seemed to be the high prices charged in the city that resulted from too many manufacturing plants. They all lost so much money during the winter trying to stay open, that their prices were unusually high during the summer. The proposed combination intended to close all the ice plants except one during the winter and economize, thereby lowering prices and raising consumption.

The single most important new industry for the future of the New Orleans port was the construction of the first grain elevator. Lewis John Higby of Milwaukee, Wisconsin purchased the property of the Louisiana Manufacturing Company right after the Civil War and transferred it to a new company, the New Orleans Elevator and Warehouse Company. The sale was for \$35,000. Higby, and his local brother Len Higby, were part of a long tradition that viewed New Orleans as the natural outlet for the products of the Middle West. Much as cotton presses were the key to the economic success of New Orleans as a cotton entrepot in the 19th century, the Higby's foreshadowed the great role of grain elevators in the 20th century. In 1868 the Higby's built a wharf, elevator, conveyor, a boarding house, and acquired the necessary machinery. They also introduced the floating elevators, designed to be moved to the location of ships or barges that needed to be unloaded. The initial two elevators were the Steam Boat Cotile and the Barge Alice. Also active in the firm was Fidel Engster of Cuba, a principal in the grain exporting house of Engster and Co.

The New Orleans Elevator & Warehouse company was a "well-known" company in 19th century New Orleans since it

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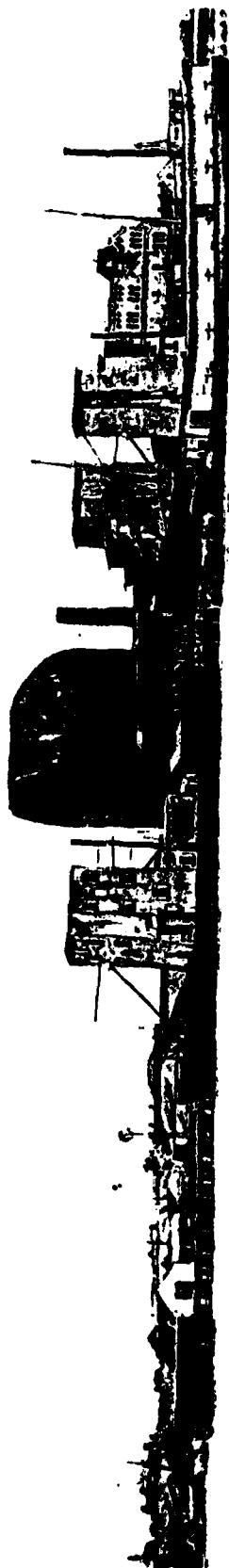


Figure 56.
The New Orleans Elevator and Warehouse Company in Square 15. The central tower is flanked by two floating elevators. On the right is the Lafayette Brewing Company brewhouse, built in 1888 (Square 14). (Englehardt 1894: 78)

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built the first large grain elevator there in 1868. By the 1890s the company had three large floating elevators, the "Dora", "Gov. Morton", and the "Windward." In the month of April, 1892 the company handled and loaded on foreign-going steamers over 3,250,000 bushels of grain, an average month for the time. The elevators could store 250,000 bushels of grain and load 180,000 bushels a day. It employed over 200 workers, and had rail connections [Englehardt 1894: 75]. Len Higby played a major role in developing the first belt or loop railroad extending tracks uptown from Faubourg Delord to the elevator at Jackson Avenue.

Its principal manager was Leonhard Naef, who joined the firm in 1870 and took full control in 1881. He was born in Switzerland in 1847, and came to New Orleans in 1869. In 1881 Naef served a term on the city council during the administration of Mayor W. J. Behan. He was also connected with the large cotton and grain commission house of Engster & co., one of the largest exporting houses of New Orleans. Naef married Miss Eliz Klink, a native of Germany, who came to the United States in 1868. [Goodspeed, II, 273]

In 1900 the New Orleans Elevator Company closed its doors and sold its property to Charles A. Hubbard for \$30,000. The next eight years witnessed a series of owners, including the Schwartz Foundry Co. Ltd. In 1909 the land was sold to the City of New Orleans and the structures were removed.

THE PRIVATIZATION OF THE RIVERFRONT

From 1865 to 1901 the riverfront docks were managed and constructed by private companies. The financial damage of the Civil War forced the city to give up its management of the docks for lack of money. In 1865 the city let a contract for management to Eager, Ellerman & Co. In 1881, at the expiration of the first contract, Joseph A. Aiken & Company was awarded it. The Aiken company received the wharf duties, and promised to spend \$25,000 a year on wharf improvements and \$40,000 a year for salaries for wharfingers and security. Their contract expired in 1891 and

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1860-1900: BUSINESSES

the Louisiana Construction & Improvement Company won the contract. Under its terms the company was to spend \$465,000 on wharf construction in the first two years, and pay \$40,000 a year in salaries. After the first two years the company spent \$35,000 per year on maintenance.

These private contractors rebuilt virtually all of the wharves in the late nineteenth century. The wharves extended from the future site of the Industrial Canal upriver to Louisiana Avenue, the study site. In 1896 the city granted the batture area above Louisiana Avenue to the Illinois Central Railroad for docks, and it constructed a magnificent set of docks and grain elevators in the area between Louisiana and Napoleon Avenue (the Stuyvesant Docks, see Fig. 1).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century contrary forces began to work. In 1888 the United States Congress passed a Federal act defining the Port of New Orleans and including within it for the first time parts of Jefferson Parish. Soon the Southport and Westwego railroad docks were included within the port. Building on this act reformers succeeded in passing a bill in the state legislature to create an independent Dock Board, of five men, in 1896. This Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans was charged with the maintenance of the docks, supervision of shipping, and given the power to charge wharfage duties. They did not take charge of the docks until 1901 when the contract of the Louisiana Construction & Improvement Company expired.

The Dock Board, along with the Levee Board created in 1890 and the Public Belt Railway created in 1900, completed the triumverate of public boards that took over the management of the riverfront at the turn of the century. In the first decade of the 20th century they completed an immense job of building, a job that saw the construction of new levee along much of the riverfront, a new public belt railway, and new steel sheds up and down the river as well

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 1860-1900: BUSINESSES

as the new cotton warehouses and public grain elevator. The city achieved a second takeoff in its economy.

CONCLUSION OF HISTORICAL REPORT

This historical landuse study of the proposed floodwall alignments has set the context for establishing the value of an archeological investigation. The alignments cross the nerve ends of the New Orleans economy, the infrastructure and commercial businesses that shaped the first great boom in the history of New Orleans. The alignments are the work location for much of the lower classes of New Orleans, the people whose written records are scarce indeed. Parts of the alignments cross early and mid-nineteenth century residential squares inhabited by the working classes. The alignments below Barracks Street particularly present opportunities for eighteenth century to nineteenth century investigation of changing occupation and landuse.

The floodwall alignments are now railroad right-of-ways. Their unimposing appearance should not obscure the vital history of their site.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF FLOODWALL ALIGNMENTS

The proceeding narrative analysis of the floodwall alignments has set the context and significance of the archeological investigation. The following section examines the floodwall alignments geographically and establishes their location with reference to eighteenth and nineteenth century features. This geographical analysis is essentially summarized in the fold-out maps [Figures 2-13] situated in the front of this report. This analysis commences at the upriver end of the floodwall alignments, Louisiana Avenue, and examines each square or alignment section down to the termination at the Industrial Canal [Inner Harbor Navigation Canal, see Fig. 1].

LOUISIANA AVENUE TO JACKSON AVENUE

SQUARE 99A DISTRICT 6

Square 99a is a comparatively late creation of the Mississippi River. As late as the Robinson atlas of 1883 the square is not shown, though various awkward land masses are portrayed projecting into the river. The floodwall site in its initial stages thus was in the river bed. This square and the one below it are the lower end of a large batture that grew in the 19th century between Carrollton and Pleasant Streets.

Surveyor Benjamin Buisson drew the earliest significant plan for the area in May 22, 1839. This plan lays out Levee Street, the future Tchoupitoulas, and Grand Cours Wiltz, the future Louisiana Avenue. The plan shows lots for a specific sale on squares 100 and 99. Square 100 is across Tchoupitoulas from the site and square 99 is between Tchoupitoulas and the river. Like all the early squares, the lots extended from Tchoupitoulas to the river. Buisson provides the depth of the lots on his plan, approximately 150 feet, and then he drew in the river. The contemporary square 99 occupies the first 82 feet of this 150 feet, stretching from Tchoupitoulas. In the 1850s, however, a new street was cut through between Tchoupitoulas and the river, this was Water Street, then variously called Public Landing or Levee. Water

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

JEFFERSON CITY



Figure 57.

The area above Toledano Street was known as Jefferson City in the mid-nineteenth century. After the City of Lafayette ran the meat packers out of town in the 1840's, they moved here. This illustration shows square 99, immediately inland from the floodwall alignment between Toledano and Louisiana, but on the river side of Tchoupitoulas. (Plan Book 77/24, NONA)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

Tchoupitoulas

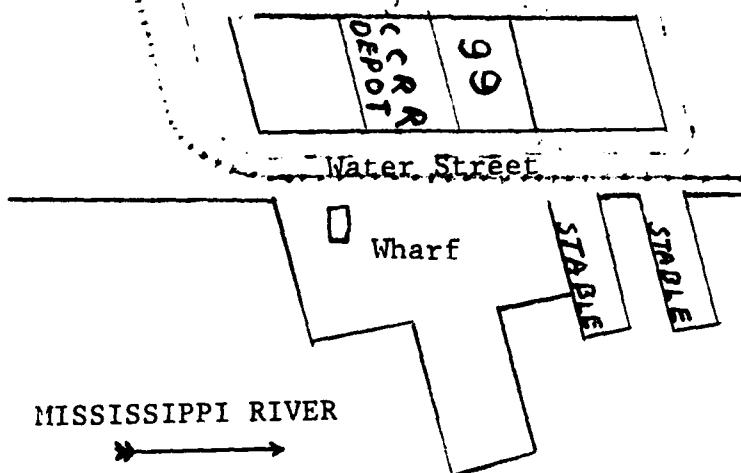


Figure 58.

Plan of square 99 and wharf area in front in 1883. The floodwall alignment crosses these wharves and stables. (1883: *Atlas*)

Street varied from 50 to 60 feet in width, and thus on present maps would occupy the next 60 feet after the 82 feet of square 99. By subtraction, if it was 150 feet to the water from Tchoupitoulas, and 142 of the feet are occupied by square 99 and Water Street, only 8 feet of square 99A was present in 1839. [Benj. Buisson, *Plan de Cinq Lots de Terre, Quartier de Plaisance*, May 22, 1839]

By 1865 the river added more land to the batture. Using 82 feet as the average depth of square 99, the plan shows that the river edge was 136 feet from the river side of square 99. After allowing 60 feet for Water Street (here called Levee), it is now apparent that 76 feet are now available. However the plan clearly shows the levee immediately adjacent to Levee Street, with the outside land referred to as batture. Thus most of square 99A was subject to flooding, if not actually underwater. No development took place for another 11 years [C. A. deArmas, *Plan of 2 Lots of Ground with Right to Batture*, October 4, 1865].

In 1867 the City Council granted a street railway franchise to the Crescent City Railroad Company for the Tchoupitoulas line. On January 15, 1876 Crescent City Railroad awarded a building contract to John Page to build a

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

brick car house, frame stables, and a wharf on its property recently acquired from Christian Schopp. [It should be noted that the public record shows the company acquired the car house parcel in 1879. The building contract thus implies the company purchased the land earlier by act under private signature.] The architect for the buildings and wharf was the noted engineer Benjamin Morgan Harrod, who was also to supervise construction. Typical of the time was the quick construction schedule--all the buildings and wharf was to be completed in two months. The wharf was to cost \$1,475 and the car barn and stables \$10,600.

The exposed position of the stables on the very edge of the river was risky. This is verified by a note attached to the contract permitting an extension of the completion date for the stables. A rise in water had interrupted work, and it would have to be completed after the high water season [N. B. Trist N.P.: 1/15/76]. The stables and wharf built on the site of square 99A are clearly shown on Robinson's Atlas of 1883.

Ten years later the levee stood just on the river side of lot 99A and its companion downriver, 16A. Its toe defined the river edge of the squares. The stables were now on dry land. It is significant that the City of New Orleans acquired 99A in 1908 for levee purposes, while it did not acquire square 99 on Tchoupitoulas until 1918, for the Public Belt Railroad.

SUMMARY

The site of the floodwall from its beginning at the foot of Louisiana Avenue through square 99A resided in the Mississippi River until the late 19th century. The first and only constructions on the site projected initially into the river batture. In themselves they do not possess historical significance. However, the initial hundred feet of the floodwall may uncover valuable marine artifacts. The most desirable, of course, would be ship remains.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

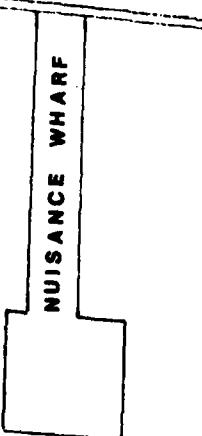
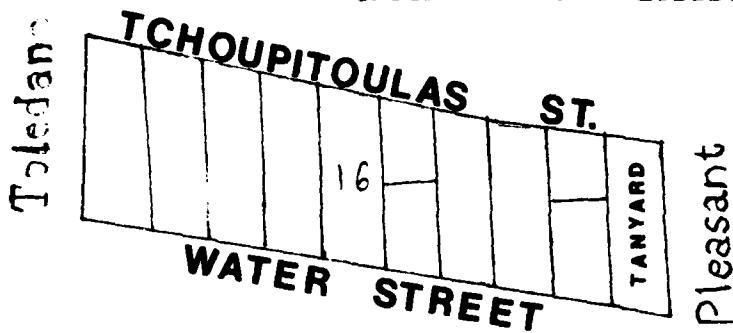


Figure 59.
Plan of square 16. The
floodwall alignment would
pass through the base of
the Nuisance wharf.
(1874: Braun)

SQUARE 16A DISTRICT 4

Square 16A is a batture square in front of square 16, which lies between Toledano and Pleasant. Square 16A's accretion parallels that of square 99A which adjoins it upriver. The evidence suggests that no structures aside from pilings for wharves were placed on the square prior to the 1890s. The square originated as part of Faubourg Delassize and consisted of lots A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and H of that subdivision in 1836. [See square 15]

For the next fifty years square 16A was merely the batture claim of the owners of lot 16. In an act of sale of 1851 involving lots G and H, they were described as fronting on Tchoupitoulas with a depth to the river of 150 feet. At that time the river coursed through most of square 16A. Twenty years later at the time of the Braun survey the bank was stabilized in approximately the same location, but by then a nuisance wharf had been constructed in front of the

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

square. This wharf functioned as the city dump for organic waste--refuse from the privies, dead animals, street deposits.

Several factors conspired to quickly build a batture following 1874. First was undoubtedly the refuse from the nuisance wharf. Second, the river was constantly building. Third, immediately downstream was the large wharf of the New Orleans Elevator Company. The combination of the two wharfs must have created a back water where land could more readily build.

Ten years later, in 1884, Hyman Levin of Chicago, purchased most of the batture in front of square 16 by an act passed in the city of Leadville, County of Lake, State of Colorado, from James Beattie. He paid \$1,600. Since Levin's home was Chicago, it suggests that he might be in the grain business. This possibility is further reinforced by the proximity of the site to the New Orleans Elevator Company. Levin sold out in 1890 for \$3,300, a price jump that suggests he made some improvements to the property. A plan of 1908 shows the site in 1893 and shows the entire square 16A now securely within the levee. The 1890 purchaser, Henry Wellman and Robert J. Whann, seemingly made some further improvements to the property, for the two mortgages from the period show an increasing value and refer to buildings. In 1904 Whann and the widow of his partner sold out, and the land passed to the City of New Orleans for the expansion of the levee in 1909.

SUMMARY

Like square 99A immediately upriver, square 16A is of comparatively recent origin, the product of batture accretion. The likelihood of historically significant buildings is minimum. However, the floodwall departs square 16A and traverses Water Street for a short distance. It is probable that granite stone street paving will be uncovered. It is also possible that an early street railway dating to 1885 may be crossed. Whether any tracks will be uncovered is doubtful. Finally, in this short run down Water street there

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

is always the possibility of an early 19th century waterfront shack. This area is part of the general area of the location of an early 19th century brickyard. Finally, some remnants of the 1890s structures put up on square 16A may be found, but their nature is not known.

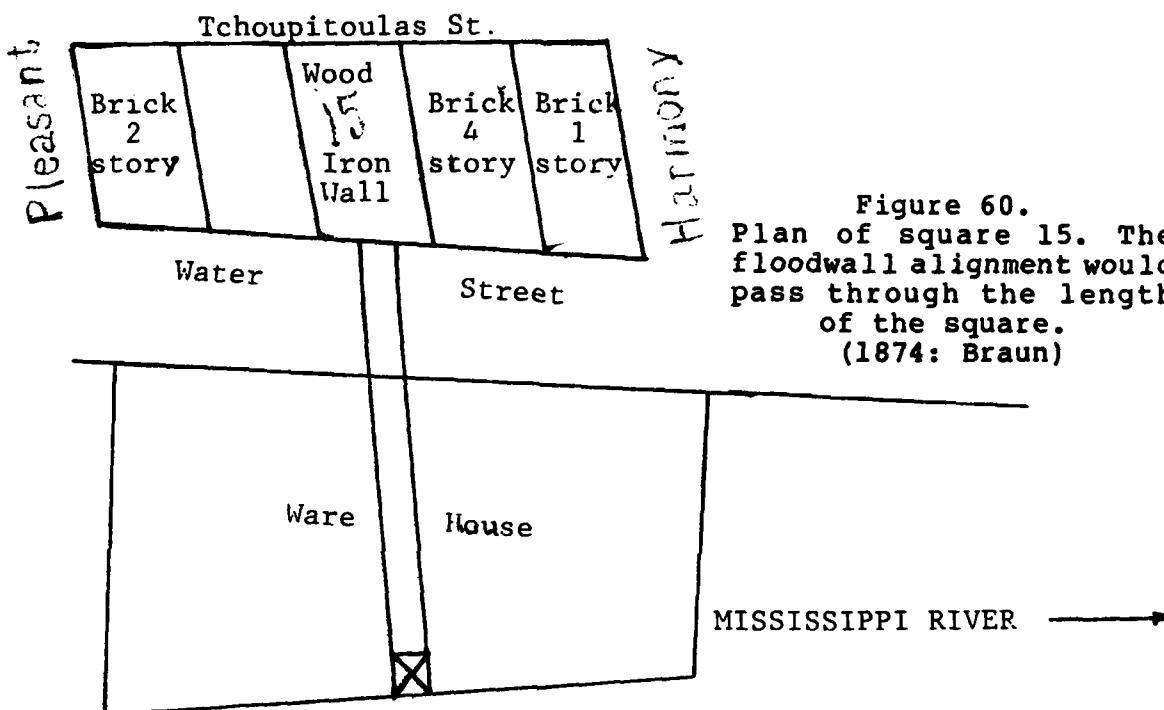


Figure 60.
Plan of square 15. The
floodwall alignment would
pass through the length
of the square.
(1874: Braun)

SQUARE 15 DISTRICT 4

Square 15 is the most significant square in the project site because of the combination of buildings on the site and the central route the floodwall takes through the square. This square has apparently been entirely commercial throughout its history.

This square is the lower half of a three arpents plantation purchased by Jacques Livaudais from his neighbor Wiltz in 1805. In 1822 he sold the property to a partnership headed by Guy Duplantier along with Valery Jean Delassize and Widow Louis Avart. The three had verbally agreed to operate a brickyard on the site. Just three years later Duplantier pulled out and Valery Jean Delassize and Widow Avart operated the brickyard. In the 1822 sale Livaudais had

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

reserved part of the upper one arpent from the sale, but a few years later Livaudais sold it to Delassize, who apparently moved into the fine home located there. In the early thirties William Doherty purchased a mill operated with steam power on the batture at the lower end of the square, along with boilers and tools. However, the records of this sale were consumed in a fire at the office of notary W. Y. Lewis in the late 1830s. No records of Doherty's ownership appears in any chain of title. One possible explanation is the sale fell through soon after it was agreed upon and the property reverted to Delassize. In any event, the evidence shows some comparatively significant industry operating at this point of the batture quite early. Doherty's extensive purchases of slaves suggests the business used a great deal of labor [Pierre Pedesclaux N.P.: 5/2/05; Marc Lafitte N.P.: 12/30/22; Phillippe Pedesclaux N.P.: 1/20/25]. Three years later the new owner of the property leased the steam saw mill to Arthur Duncan along with 192' feet of land, beginning at Harmony Street and going up river.

On March 16, 1836 Valery Delassize and the widow Avart sold the three arpent plantation for subdivision to Samuel Herman, Jr., a merchant of New Orleans, for the handsome price of \$79,345. [Felix Grima, 3/16/36] The batture property consisting of present day squares 15 and 16 was subdivided into lots A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H (square 16), J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, and R (square 15). Samuel Herman promptly sold these lots to Martin Gordon, Jr. for over \$25,000. In 1841 Gordon went bankrupt and the Merchants Bank took over the property for \$28,000 and renamed the lots on square 15 with numbers 1 through 8.

Three years later (1844) Merchants Bank turned the entire square over to the commercial firm of R. W. Milbank & Co. in satisfaction of a debt of \$16,000 the bank owed the firm. There were buildings on the square at this date, which is a significant date for this stretch of the batture for it is this year that the wharf was built in front of square 14

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

and brick warehouses go up in the adjoining square [Felix Grima N.P.: 3/16/36; 5/23/36; 1/24/38; Lucien Herman N.P.: 2/8/41; G. R. Stringer N.P.: 3/20/44].

The buildings could be part of the mill business that was operated by Doherty or remains of the brickyard. In any event, when Milbank sold the property in 1854 the firm described the buildings as "the whole of their Brick Warehouses, i.e., to say about 75 feet front on Levee street, 75 feet front on Water street, by about 96 feet on Harmony street." The firm also included in the sale "the Machinery contained therein, consisting of Engines, and Boilers, Shafting, Belting, drums etc." It may be inferred that there were no other buildings on the square in 1854.

In 1854 the principals in the firm of R. W. Milbank put together a new manufacturing company, "The Louisiana Manufacturing Company." It survived until the Civil War. After the war Lewis John Higby of Milwaukee purchased the buildings and property and transferred it to a new company, the New Orleans Elevator and Warehouse Company [For illustration and discussion see page 155].

In 1900 the New Orleans Elevator Company closed its doors and sold its property to Charles A. Hubbard for \$30,000. The next eight years witnessed a series of owners, including the Schwartz Foundry Co. Ltd. In 1909 the land was sold to the City of New Orleans and the structures were removed.

SUMMARY

Square 15 is one of the two most important squares both for the value of its former structures and for the archeological possibilities due to the positioning of the floodwall across the square. The floodwall appears to enter the square from Water Street at the lower edge of the eight story main tower of the 19th century grain elevator. It moves across the square in a generally northerly direction parallel to the edge of the building, and then turns and crosses the foundations of a four story warehouse, followed

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

by a one story brick warehouse, probably the original building on the site constructed in the 1840s. It is also possible that the four story building was built by Milbank or the Louisiana Manufacturing Company. The Zimpel map of 1834 shows a sawmill on the site, a building that could also be related to the brickyard known to exist in this vicinity. The important area to watch is between P.l. Sta 10+99.76 and Gate Sta 12+70.45 on Drawings 2 and 3 of the Corps of Engineers, "Plan Louisiana Avenue to Jackson Avenue Floodwall, Right of Way (1981)."

Digging Sequence:

1. On Corps of Engineers, Plan Louisiana Avenue to Jackson Avenue Floodwall, from P.l. Sta. 10+99.76 to P.l. Sta. 11+54.78 expect possible heavy foundations for 8 story building, made of wood with iron facing. At lower level possible early brickyard or sawmill remnants.
2. On Corps plan, from P.l. Sta. 11+54.78 to before Sta. 12+30, or a distance of approximately 60 feet from P.l. Sta. 11+54.78 going down river, expect foundations possible 1850s four story brick warehouse. Below that good possibility for sawmill (1820s) remains. Also possible brickyard.
3. On Corps plan, from approximately 20' upriver from Sta. 12+30 to Gate Sta. 12+70.45 look for remains of one story brick warehouse, probably built before 1844.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

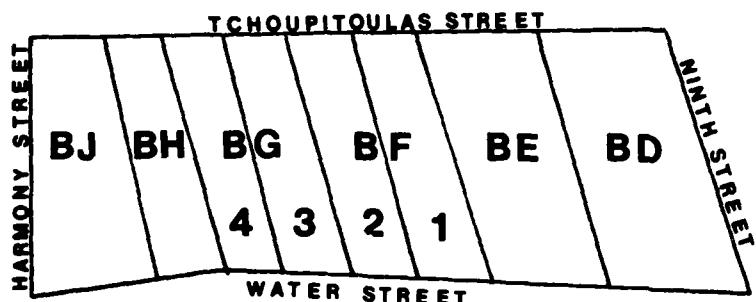


Figure 61.
Plan of square 14 showing lots BJ to BD.
(1874: Braun)

SQUARE 14 DISTRICT 4

Square 14 emerged as a separate piece of real estate out the old Livaudais Plantation in 1832. It was the most upriver terminus of Plantation Livaudais, later the uppermost terminus of the City of Lafayette. It was bounded on the downriver side by Ninth St., and on the upriver side by Faubourg DeLassize, which never became part of the City of Lafayette.

In the auction of Livaudais Plantation Square "O", now Square 14, was divided into six lots, Nos. BJ to BD. Each was about 40 to 45 feet wide, by about 135 feet deep.

LOT BJ SQUARE 14

Peter Hanson, a sometime milkman, tavern and boarding house keeper, purchased Lot BJ at the 1832 Livaudais auction [G.R.Stringer N.P.: 4/5/32 and Lafayette C.O.B. 7/99]. In 1848 John Morris Bach purchased lot BJ and held it until 1860 when he sold to Henry F. Hall for \$2900 cash [E.G. Gottschalk N.P.: 3/6/1860]. Hall, a member of the commercial firm B.L. Mann & Co., held the property for the next twenty years, when his firm sold BJ to Fidel Engster, a Cuban associated with the New Orleans Elevator and Warehouse Company. [N.B.Trist N.P.: 4-1-1880]. Engster turned over title of Lot BJ to the company the year after he bought it, for \$2500, the price that he had paid Henry F. Hall for both BJ and the adjacent lot in Sq. 14, Lot BH. [N.B. Trist N.P.:

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

4-27-1881].

Both lots BJ and BH now became facilities of the Elevator Company operation on adjacent Square 15 for the following thirty years. According to Sanborn's Insurance Maps, New Orleans, Louisiana [vol. 3, 1896 ed., Sq.14] (hereafter "Sanborn") Lots BJ and BH were used as a lumber and wood yard during that time. At the rear of Lot BJ was a small frame stable and some sheds. (For the subsequent history of Lots BJ and BH until they were sold with Square 15 to the City of New Orleans for the Public Belt RR right of way, see report on Square 15.)

LOT BH SQUARE 14

Lot BH, along with the remainder of the lots in Square 14 downriver from it, was included in the bankruptcy of James Evans in 1837. It was sold by the syndic for Evans' creditors to Peter Hanson [L.T. Caire N.P.: 5/8/1838] for \$1825, a sum that by comparison indicates the lot was probably bare at the time. BH was still in Hanson's ownership when he died, and was sold by his estate in 1846 with another lot for \$3270, a modest sum that suggests it still had no building in 1846.

The new buyer was Philip Geiger [D. Clark, Jr., Jefferson Parish Recorder, 12-4-1846], an immigrant from Baden Baden, Germany, who lived in the City of Lafayette at Levee (Tchoupitoulas) and First St. Geiger probably built a warehouse on Lot BH during the 1840s, although we know little about it. The elusive clue to its existence is the \$3400 value given Lot BH in Geiger's estate, inventoried in 1853 [L.R.Kenny N.P.: 5/14/1853]. This value was about double what Geiger paid for the lot in 1846.

Philip Geiger's widow inherited the lot and she married Abraham Bronsema [6DC # 5245, 6/27/1860]. Mrs. Caroline Geiger Bronsema then sold Lot BH in 1861 to Henry F. Hall [J.F. Coffey N.P.: 4/3/1861] for \$1800. The act of sale did not mention any buildings, and the \$1800 value was a substantial reduction from that specified in 1853.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

Subsequent to 1861, the history of lot BH is identical to that of Lot BJ.

LOT BG SQUARE 14

Like the two previously described lots on Sq. 14, Lot BG came out of the creditors'sale of the property of James Evans in 1838. It was then sold to James McGarey [L.T. Caire 5-8 1838] for \$1700. McGarey sold it to Gustave Leroy in 1843 [F. Grima N.P.:3/2/1843] for \$2000.

The Leroy-Labarre partnership continued to control Lot BG for roughly the next fifteen years, until 1860. At that time they sold out both halves of the lot to L. Auguste Bernard, a French immigrant baker who lived in the neighborhood on Eighth St. between Constance and Laurel [J.F. Coffey, 2-23-1860].

Bernard and several members of his family had extensive interests on Square 14. Philibert Bernard, probably his father or an older brother, had owned Lot BD at the Ninth Street end of the square since 1837. J. Xavier Bernard, evidently a brother of Auguste, owned Lot BE next to that, and after 1851 kept the family coffee house and a feedstore on the corner of Tchoupitoulas and Ninth St. with the widow of Philibert Bernard, Rosalie Weigtman Bernard. L. Auguste and J. Xavier Bernard split ownership of Lot BF, right in the middle of the square. The family thus owned all of Square 14 from Ninth Street to the upriver end of Lot BG. Auguste married a German girl, Elizabeth Metick, and his close friend was Kaspar Auch, leader of the German community in the City of Lafayette [CDC 22,669, NOPL].

As the report on Lot BE will show, a brewery was founded on Lot BE about 1867 [For further discussion see page 145]. Louis Auguste Bernard continued to own Lot BG during the operation of the brewery, and until his death in 1877. BG was probably used during that time as a service area for the brewery. The brewery was small family operation at first, but continued to expand during the 1870s and 1880s. In 1887 the Lafayette Brewing Company bought it out, and at that time Louis Auguste Bernard's widow and children

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

sold Lot BG along with the upper half of adjacent Lot BF to the company.

The Lafayette Brewing Company added substantial buildings to their property on Square 14 between 1888 and 1890. Lot BG then became the site of the beer cellar portion of a new four-story brewhouse they built.

UPPER HALF LOT BF SQUARE 14

John McLaughlin sold the upper half of original lot BF to Laurent Ignace Sigur [F. Grima N.P.: 5-17-1843], a young attorney who had inherited \$20,000 from his grandfather Laurent Sigur of Iberville Parish, and who was putting his inheritance into New Orleans real estate. [A. Chiapella 5-8-1843]. Sigur paid only \$822.50 for the property, about the same value per square foot that the lot had five years earlier in the Evans creditors' sale. Sigur then sold the property to his fiancee, Agnes Malvina Roche, widow deLa Ronde, who was his cousin.

The fiancee paid the same amount for the bare lot, \$822.50 [A. Chiapella 6-14-1843]. However, when Sigur and his cousin Mrs. Widow deLa Ronde signed a marriage contract the following February [A.Chiapella 2-2-1844], they stated that there was a brick warehouse on the upper half of Lot BF. The warehouse was thus built, like the one on Lot BG, in the late months of 1843. This construction probably came in response to the construction of the steamboat wharf in front of Square 14 that year. [As the report on Lot BE will show, the same sequence of events and construction occurred on Lot BE, which Laurent Sigur purchased bare in 1843 but declared in his marriage contract to hold a brick warehouse in Feb., 1844.]

The Sigurs held their (upper) half of Lot BF until about 1847 when Mrs. Sigur turned her title over to John Hoey, the Lafayette omnibus line owner, for \$2800, or \$2000 more than she paid her fiancee for it in 1843. [D.J.Ricardo N.P.: 6/2/1847]. Hoey held it only two years, selling to Victor Rochebrun in 1849 [J.R. Beard 3-27-1849]. Nine years

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

later Rochebrun sold to Louis Auguste Bernard, and the upper half of old Lot BF, now with a reduced value of only \$1900, became part of the Bernard family complex on Square 14, ending up as a staveyard.

HALF LOT BF SQUARE 14

After subdividing original Lot BF in 1843, John McLaughlin sold the lower half to Mrs. Marie Adele Roche, the mother of Agnes Malvina Roche deLa Ronde, fiancee of Laurent Sigur, to whom McLaughlin sold the upper half of the lot the same day, May 17, 1843 [F.Grima]. Mrs. Roche paid the same \$822.50 that her future son-in-law paid, the value of an unimproved lot. In 1847, Mrs. Roche sold to John Hoey for \$2800.

As stated above, Hoey also purchased the upper half of Lot BF in 1847. His purchase price of the lower half strongly indicates that Mrs. Roche had had a brick warehouse built on it in 1843, as the Sigurs had on their half. Hoey sold the lower half two years later [J.R.Beast N.P.: 2/1/1849] to Jean Baptiste Marmazet, an illiterate Frenchman whose resources to buy and manage the investment are yet unexplained. Marmazet retained the property for the next nine years, when he sold to Joseph Xavier Bernard for \$2900 [E.G.Gottschalk N.P.: 7/9/1859]. After that the lower half of Lot BF while still in Bernard's ownership became an adjunct of the brewery complex on the adjacent lot.

The history of the lower half of Lot BF becomes potentially very interesting during the period of its ownership by Joseph Xavier Bernard (1859-1871). During that time, a German brewer named Henry Bassemier, with a second German brewer, Nicholas Guenther, founded a small brewery next door to lot BF on Xavier Bernard's property. Bassemier and Guenther lived next to the brewery premises, probably on the lower half of Lot BF.

New Orleans city directories begin to list Bassemier and Guenther as brewers on Tchoupitoulas and Ninth sts. in 1867, and begin to specify their residence there (1010 Tchoupitoulas) in 1870. This residence was on lower

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

BF. In 1871 Xavier Bernard sold the property with the brewery complex, which included the lower half of Lot BF and Lot BE next door, to Henry Bassemier [J.F.Coffey N.P.: 11/27/ 1871]. Bassemier paid \$6000 for the complex in 1871, a sum of sufficient substance to indicate that the sale included two buildings. Bassemier and his five sons and two daughters continued to live there from that time until the deaths of Bassemier and his wife Catherine, who were both deceased by 1883.

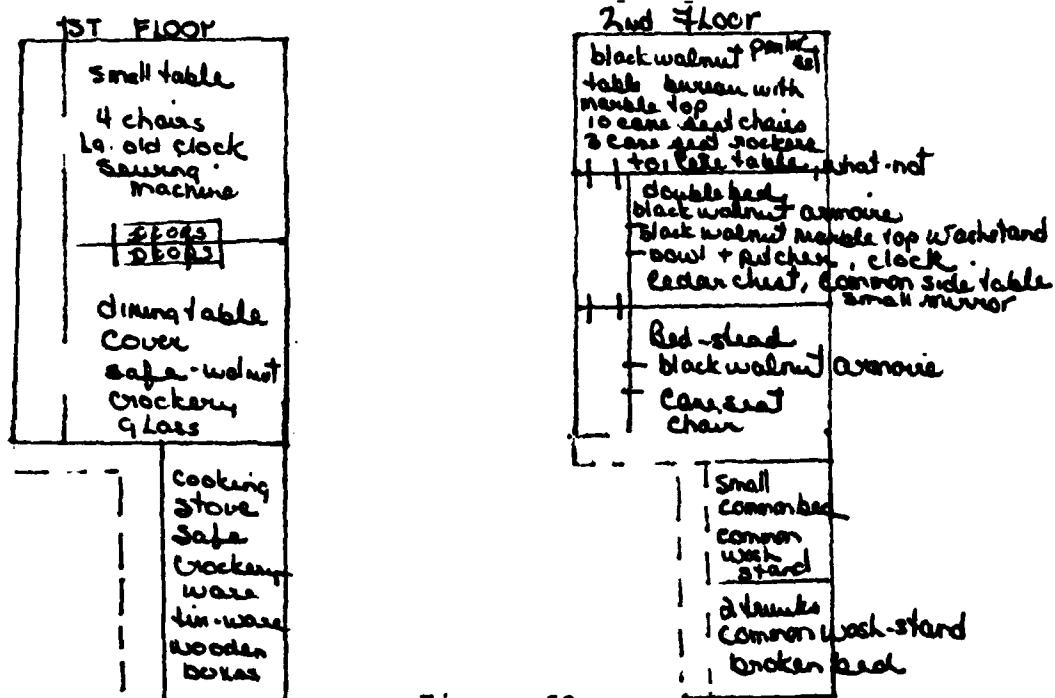


Figure 62.
Conjectural plan of Bassemier house.
(J.F. Coffey N.P. 2/3/1883)

The Bassemiers' estate was inventoried in February, 1883 for their joint succession [CDC 3883; J.F. Coffey N.P.: 2/3/1883]. The inventory reveals that the Bassemier home faced Tchoupitoulas St. and was municipal No. 1010, as directory research confirmed. The home was a two-story brick dwelling with three large rooms and a hall on the first floor and five bedrooms on the second floor. It was comfortably, almost luxuriously, furnished, an indication of the prosperous condition of a respectable New Orleans middle class German immigrant family who had worked hard to achieve

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success. In addition to the plentiful furnishings, the home contained a cedar chest with the family valuables: two \$20 gold pieces, seventy-two pieces of silver flatware, a diamond set gold cross and chain, diamond earrings, and other mixed jewelry. In the chest were the Bassemiers' gold wedding bands, several pieces of German currency, and even a certificate showing that Bassemier held an insurance policy of \$1,000 on the life of his wife.

In 1884, the Bassemier heirs sold the home with the brewery, machinery, and stable for a hefty \$15,200 to brewers George and Joseph Wegmann [J.F. Coffey N.P.: 6/1/1884] and they sold to the Lafayette Brewery.

LOT BE SQUARE 14

Lot BE and Lot BD next to it are perhaps the most important on Square 14. Their history is discussed in the main text with regard to the Lafayette Brewery following page 148.

SUMMARY LOT BE

There is no evidence of buildings during the plantation era, but the levee crossed the lot in 1834. A two story brick warehouse was built between June, 1843 and February, 1844. Warehouse converted into brewery about 1867. The Braun survey of 1874 indicates a 2-story brick brewery with a slate roof, sharing a common wall with the home at 1010 Tchoupitoulas (Bassemier House, Lot BF) and feedstore on corner (Lot BD). Lafayette Brewing Company evidently demolished the old warehouse to make way for new brewhouse in 1888. Lot BE's portion of the new brewhouse contained ice machines and water tanks, and a five-story tower.

LOT BD SQUARE 14

Lot BD, at the corner of Tchoupitoulas and Ninth Streets, was one of several lots in the bankruptcy of James Evans in 1838. At that time, Philibert Bernard purchased it for \$3,100, about twice what the other lots in the sale sold for. There may have been a small commercial building such as a corner store on the property at that time. The lot contin-

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

ued to be owned by the Bernard family from 1838 until the 1870s. New Orleans city directories of 1838-1848, however, do not indicate that Philibert Bernard operated a store on Lot BD. He lived at the corner of Rousseau and Washington in the neighborhood. He was deceased by 1851.

In 1851, Bernard's widow Rosalie Weightman Bernard had a two story brick warehouse built on Lot BD by carpenter-brickmason John Dumond [L. R. Kenny N.P.: 2/26/1851]. For a discussion of this warehouse see the narrative text.

Digging Sequence for Square 14: (Locations from Corps of Engineers Plans, 1981, sequence is from upriver to downriver)

1. The floodwall will first cross lot BJ. Location 15' after Gate Sta 12+70.45 to 40' after Sta 13 + 05.45.
2. Next is lot BH. Location 40' after Sta 13+05.45 (or 10' before 13+55.45) to 37' after Sta 13+55.45.
3. Next is lot BG. Location 37' after 13+55.45 to 80' after Sta 13+55.45.
4. Next is lot BF. Location 80' after Sta 13+55.45 to 9' before Sta 15.00.
5. Next is lot BE. Location 9' before Sta 15.00 to 34' after Sta 15.00.
6. Next is lot BD. Location is 7.5' past Sta 15+16.31 to 50' past Sta 15+16.31.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

SQUARE 13 DISTRICT 4

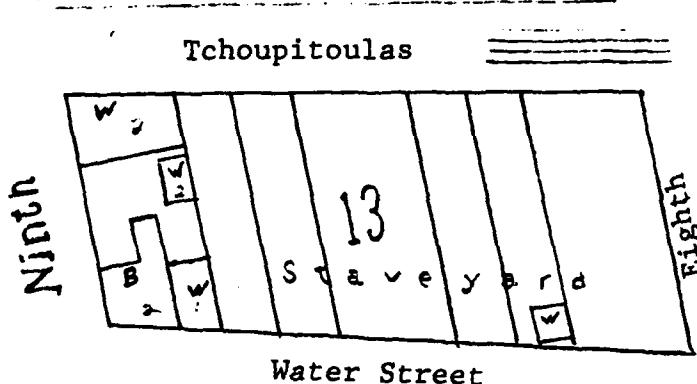


Figure 63.

Plan of square 13. The square was primarily a staveyard.
(1874: Braun)

Square 13 was virtually empty of buildings in 1874. The square stretches between Ninth and Eighth streets. The only structure on the right of way as of 1874 was a building described in 1887 as "a double tenement two story house forming the corner of Levee and Ninth Streets." This was clearly a residential structure. The lot (BC) was purchased in 1836 from the subdividers of Faubourg Livaudais by John Mitchell, and he and his heirs owned it until 1887 when they sold it to Alphonse and E. J. Bobet, who operated the staveyards on squares 12 and 13. Directory research strongly suggests that John Mitchell did not live there, and the term tenement suggests it was rental property. Its address on the old system was 1000-1002 Tchoupitoulas.

Digging Sequence:

1. Beginning at upriver corner (Tchoupitoulas and Ninth), watch carefully for the lot (BC), which extends for 51' 1".
2. The square is 258 feet long. The balance of 206' 11" may have some early structures, but they have not been identified.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

SQUARE 12 DISTRICT 4

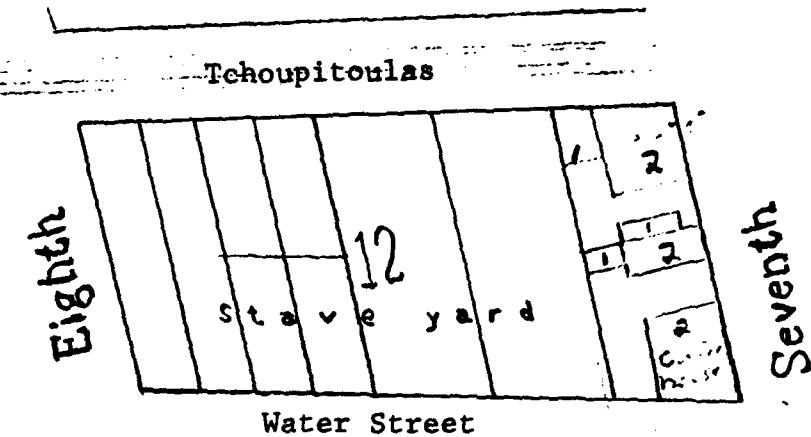


Figure 64.
Plan of square 12. The square was primarily a staveyard.
(1874: Braun)

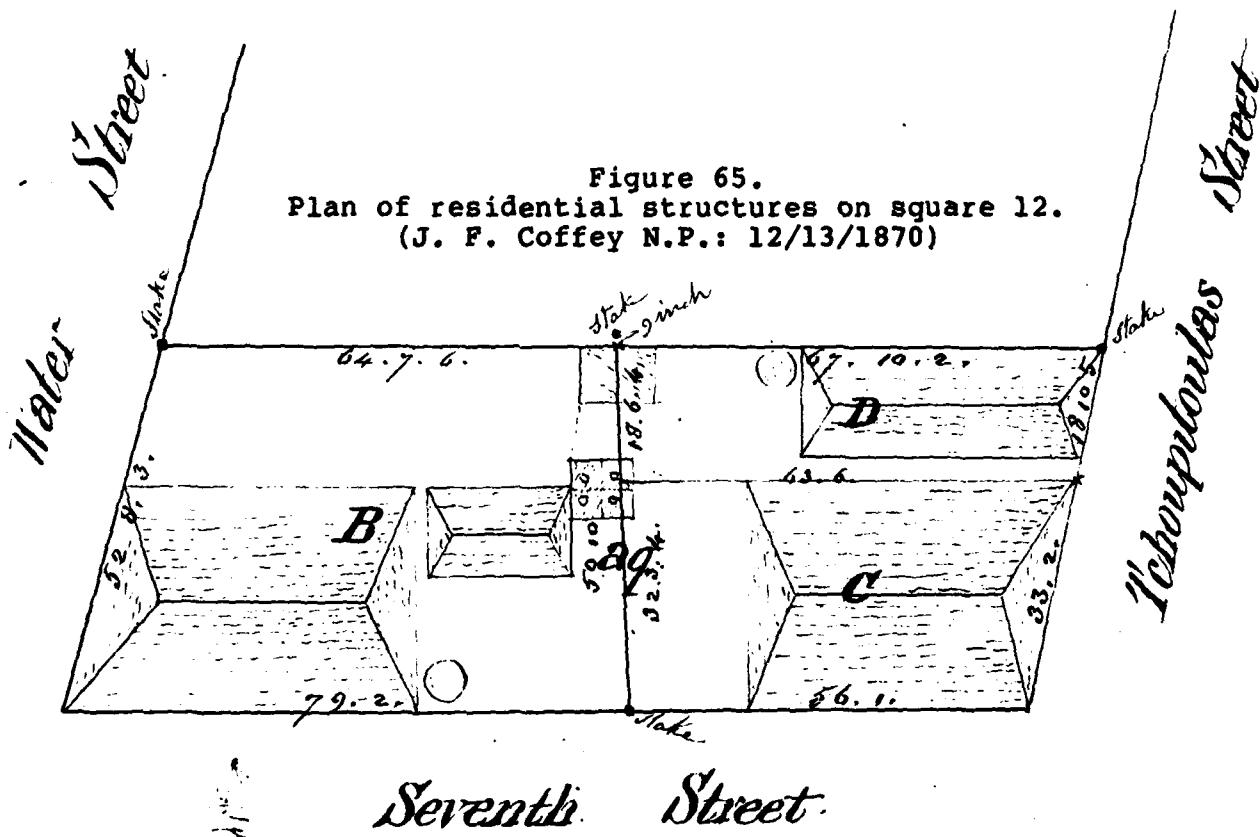


Figure 65.
Plan of residential structures on square 12.
(J. F. Coffey N.P.: 12/13/1870)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

SQUARE 12 DISTRICT 4

Square 12 sits across the right of way between Eighth and Seventh Streets. Of the squares in this floodwall study area, it appears to have the most vacant land. In 1873 (Braun's survey), four-fifths of the land was used as a stave yard. Staveyards were an essential component of the nexus of industry along this stretch of the river. Here staves were gathered from sawmills and fabricated into barrels for the nearby grain elevator (New Orleans Elevator Company, sq. 15) and the Lafayette Brewery on square 14. The Bobet Bros. also exported large quantities of staves from their yards at Eighth Street and at 1707 S. Peters Street.

It is unclear whether buildings ever existed on this four fifths of the square. Samuel Brown purchased the area before 1850 and his succession turned it over to Elizabeth Brown Blue on April 30, 1850. She owned it for twenty years, before it turned over three times and ended up as the E. J. Bobet staveyard. He sold the land to the City of New Orleans in 1909.

The only proven development occurred on the lower end of the square along Seventh street between Tchoupitoulas and Water Streets. Like its neighbors the square was subdivided in 1832. Lots AP and AQ ended up jointly owned by Ernest Henry Kieseckamp and the Bank of the United States. On August 18, 1841 the property was partitioned between Kieseckamp and the Bank, with Kieseckamp receiving Lot AQ at the lower end of square 12 and the Bank receiving lot AP at the upper end of square 11. [Judgment of the First Judicial District Court, Bank of the U.S. vs. E. H. Kieseckamp, in COB 3, folio 441, Transcribed records of Jefferson Parish, Orleans Parish Conveyance Office. The attorney for the Bank was the famous Democratic politician and Senator, John Slidell].

Lot AQ of square 12 stretched for fifty-two feet along Tchoupitoulas from the corner of Seventh street, and extended originally to the river bank. In the middle 1850s Water Street was cut through, forming the square, but not

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

obliterating the batture rights of the property owner. The directory of 1843 shows Ernest Henry Kiesekamp residing at the corner of Levee and Seventh [Michel Directory 1843]

Kiesekamp built three structures on the lot after subdividing it into lots B, C, and D. He evidently intended to offer a lot A, but never built. The structure on lot B was the largest of the three, and apparently functioned as a coffee house for a long period of time prior to 1873.

The New Orleans coffee house was a distinctive institution, best described by a visitor in 1835, Yankee Joseph Holt Ingraham. New Orleans had hundreds of coffee houses in the ante-bellum era, and Lafayette alone had fifteen in 1838, with its population not a thousand. Staffed by bilingual waiters, the coffee house was decorated in French taste, with engravings and printings of a risque nature. Rows and castles of glasses sparkled from behind highly polished bars. Lamps and tables hosted a numerous throng throughout the day, for much commerce, newspapering, and politicing went on in the coffee house. Alternatively, the visitor was sure to be playing dominoes, the game of the creoles. The indispensable "segar" was never far from the creole's hand, and clouds of smoke swirled around every cluster. Coffee was seldom to be seen, the drink was negus, a beverage of wine, hot water, sugar, nutmeg, and lemon juice [Register n.p.].

Two of Kiesekamp's buildings sat across the present site of the Floodwall. Both were built right up to the property line of Tchoupitoulas. The corner building was two stories of brick, with a slate roof. The smaller is of wood, one story. The corner building is the larger, yet the 1870 sketch by J. A. d'Hemecourt does not show a cistern for it while showing one for the smaller building. [J. A. d'Heme-court, Deputy City Surveyor, 12/9/1870 in J. F. Coffey N.P.: 12/13/1870] The corner building (C) occupies its entire frontage of the lot, 33' 2". The smaller building is long and narrow, probably about 15' wide by 40' deep, with a

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

cistern at the rear. The privies show in the center of lot AQ at the intersections of the four lots. Ernest H. Kiese-kamp died in 1869 and the following year his son, Casper William Kiese-kamp inherited the property. He immediately sold lot D with its buildings to William Macke for \$775. Over the next three decades all three lots wound up in the Kampen family, and in 1908 Mrs. Mary Kampen, the wife of John Hanneman sold the lots to the City of New Orleans for \$8,000.

SUMMARY

Careful attention should be given to the downriver corner of square 12. The structures here have been documented and could be of value. They were built and used by members of the German community of Lafayette. However, the presence of buildings on the rest of the square cannot be ruled out.

Digging Sequence:

1. Beginning at the upriver end of the square, the first 208' 2" 7" were occupied by the stave yard.
2. The lower corner consisting of lots C and D of Lot AQ occupies 52' 5".

SQUARE 11 DISTRICT 4

Square 11 is one of the best candidates for uncovering residential remains. Houses dating back to 1834 can be documented. Square 11 is bounded by Seventh Street and Sixth Street.

Examination of Braun's survey of 1874 indicates that the most significant properties in the right of way still standing at that date are in the middle of the block. They consist of a two story wooden building, a one story wooden building, a brick building, and a small one story wooden building, probably a creole cottage. The latter is set back from the property line and may not be on the right of way.

This square like the others in this area was subdivided in 1832. In May of 1840 John Deniger, probably a German, purchased the lower half of lot AN. Two years later

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON
Tchoupitoulas

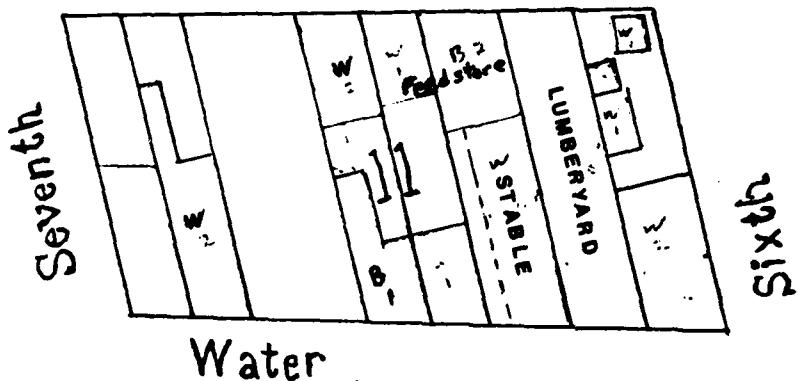


Figure 66.
Plan of square 11 with the John Deniger coffee house, later
feed store along the alignment.
(1874: Braun)

the City Directory shows Deniger operating a coffee house on Levee between Sixth and Seventh, presumably on this lot. This could be the one story wooden structure there in 1874. By 1850 Deniger is operating a feed store downriver, below Jackson, but in 1853 he has moved his establishment back to his lot, no longer a coffee house, now a feed store.

Deniger was prosperous, for in 1857 and 1858 he purchased the two lots immediately down river, known as lots 6 and 7. Both had buildings on them in 1834. By 1874 lot 6 supported a large brick building containing a feed store. John Deniger had since died, but the properties remained in the possession of his widow until 1898, and the businesses could well have been operated by her and her children. In 1868 she purchased yet another lot in the area, lot E, which faced the river and had a very large brick dwelling on it.

SUMMARY

This square contains the enterprises of an important German family of Lafayette. Care should be maintained in excavation in the middle of the square.

Digging Sequence:

1. Beginning at upriver corner, Tchoupitoulas and Seventh, actual boundary line, not street curbs, first 104' 9" do not show structures.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

2. Lot D or upper half of lot AN contained a two story wooden structure. Could be significant. Extends 26'1".
3. Next is lower half of Lot AN extending for 25' 6.5", on which sat a one story wooden building, probably dating at least until 1842.
4. Lot 6, part of Lot AM, extends for 34' on Tchoupitoulas. It contained a two story brick structure, probably built as a store.
5. Lot 7, part of lots AM and AL, extends for 34' on Tchoupitoulas, and did not contain a structure in 1874, but did contain one as early as 1834. Probably wooden.
6. The lowest lot on the square extends for 37.0225 ', but the small one story wooden dwelling occupied about one half of the frontage, set a few feet back.

Overall length of the square is 260.71'.

SQUARE 10 DISTRICT 4

Square 10 lies between Sixth and Washington and is the largest square in the Louisiana to Jackson right of way. Its size comes from its position in front of the square reserved by Madame Livaudais for her home when she sold the plantation for subdivision. Braun's survey of 1874 shows three buildings lying across the floodwall right of way.

The largest structure is the one story brick warehouse belonging to Charles Manson, and used as a salt warehouse. It is situated on lots AF and AE in the center of the square. [Hugh Grant, City Surveyor for Lafayette, December 4, 1846, in D. J. Ricardo N.P.: 12/8/1846].

Charles Manson specialized in importing and distributing salt throughout the South and West. He founded the business in 1850, and maintained the principal business at Tchoupitoulas and Common Streets. In 1856 a partnership of Theodore L. McGill, Theodore McGill, James Jackson, and Charles Manson purchased lots AF and AE with buildings for \$16,500. Two years later Manson bought his partners out. Later Manson took in as a partner David Jackson and the firm changed its name to Jackson and Manson. In 1878 Charles Manson retired and his son Robert succeeded him. Five years

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

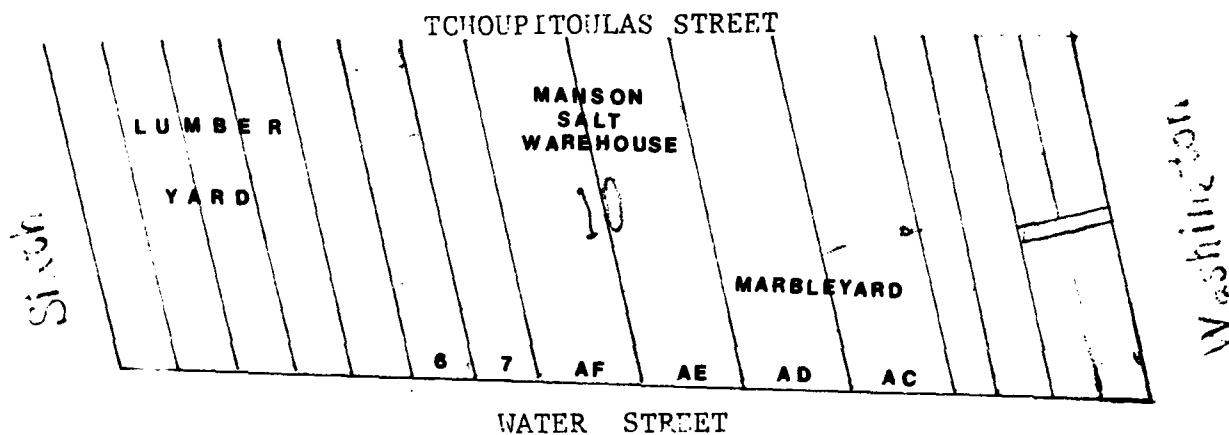


Figure 67.
Plan of the unusually long square 10. The center of the square features the Manson salt warehouse.
(1874: Braun)

later another son, James Manson, bought out David Jackson, and renamed the firm Manson Bros. The property stayed in the Manson family until they sold to the City of New Orleans in 1908 [Englehardt 1894:110-111].

The second largest building that once sat across the floodwall site was used as a marble works in the late 19th century. It was a one story brick front frame house with slate roof and two attached wooden sheds at the rear. [T. Guyol N.P.: 4/30/1890] It occupied lots 7 and 8 of larger lot AC. [Plan of Hugh Grant 12/4/1846, in D. J. Ricardo N.P.: 12/8/1846; also sketch in Alcee J. Villere N.P.: 7/2/1900] The developer of the lots was probably Daniel Seltzer Dewees who purchased lots 7 and 8 in 1850 for \$2,000. [L. R. Kenny 2/26/1850] This is a high price, and suggests that a frame building might have been on them by that date. Dewees sold his interest in lots 1-8 in 1871 with buildings for \$10,000 and in a sale three years later the buildings contained machinery, fixtures for cutting, sawing and polishing marble. [E. L. Gottschalk N.P.: 3/7/1871; Joseph Cohn N.P.: 6/26/1874]

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

The final structure on the square through which the floodwall will pass is a two story wooden structure on lot 6 of a sketch attached to D. J. Ricardo N.P.: 12/8/46.

SUMMARY

The Manson salt warehouse presents an excellent opportunity to examine the remains of a long-standing business. There should not be remains of any other structure beneath it. The marble works might yield remnants of marble as well as evidence of the frame house behind the brick front. Curiously, Braun shows the entire structure as built of brick.

Digging Sequence

1. The first five lots of the square were used as a lumber yard in 1874. Total distance from upriver Tchoupitoulas corner of square is 131' 6" 6"".
2. Lot 6 measures 26' 6" 1" and held a two story wood frame structure.
3. Lot 7 was vacant, measures 26' 6" 1"".
4. Lots AF and AE held the Manson Salt warehouse, with a combined width of 92' 4" 4"".
5. Lot AD may have held some buildings prior to 1874. Not documented. Measures 46' 2" 2"" wide.
6. Lot AC held the marble works, measures 46' 2" 3"" wide.
7. Lots AB and AA may have held some buildings prior to 1874. Not documented. Measures 92' 4" 6"" total width to end of square.

SQUARE 8 DISTRICT 4

Square 8 presents five documented buildings in the floodwall right of way. However, it is estimated that the floodwall probably crosses the Tchoupitoulas boundary line within this square, thus reducing the number of possible artifacts. Square 8 sits between Fourth and Third Streets. A further distinctive element of this square is the availability of drawings of two of the structures, both wooden frame dating probably from the 1840s.

Square 8 was early divided into 20 evenly sized

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

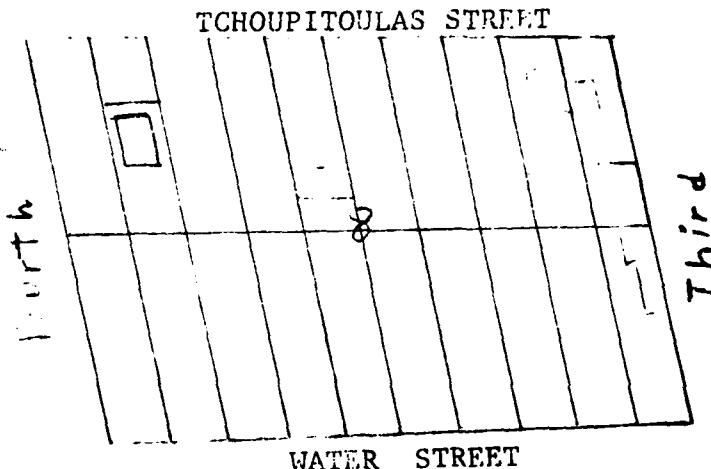


Figure 68.

Plan of square 8. The corner of Third and Tchoupitoulas has several well documented buildings, see Figure 69.
(1874: Braun)

lots, ten facing Tchoupitoulas and ten facing Water Street. Lot numbers 11 through 20 front on Tchoupitoulas, and each has 25' 11" 6" of frontage. [Hugh Grant, Plan of 28 Lots, 12/28/42, Plan Book 91, folio 48.] The plan shows that what later came to be called Water Street was referred to as "Levee or Public Landing," while Tchoupitoulas at this time was referred to as Levee Street.

The most spectacular complex of residential buildings provable on the entire site sits at the lower end of square 8 [See page 186]. Front and side elevations of these structures are preserved in Plan Book 49, folio 62. The ubiquitous coffee house occupied the corner of Third and Water, while apparently a purely residential structure stood at Third and Tchoupitoulas. Both of these buildings were still present in 1874 on Braun's survey. The building on lot 20 may touch the floodwall right of way. It was apparently built while the lot was owned by one Jean Brown, whose wife was Johanna Bruhn, thus suggesting strongly that Jean Brown was actually Johan Bruhn, a process familiar to Louisiana history that saw such changes as Zweig to Labranche a hundred years earlier. Jean Brown purchased the land for \$940

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

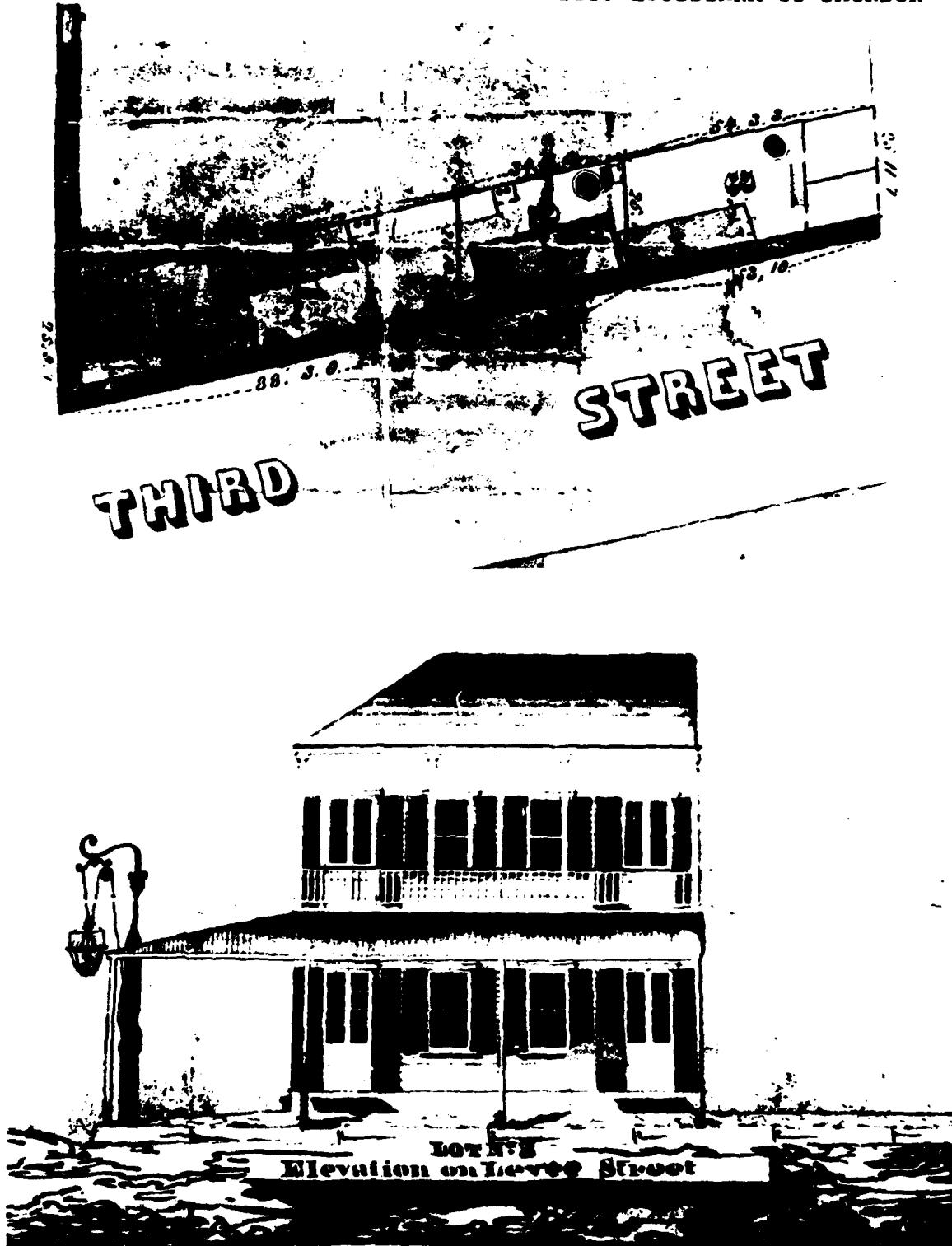


Figure 69.

Plan and Elevation on Tchoupitoulas of residential structure
on square 8, corner of Third Street. The floodwall alignment
may cross the front few feet of this structure.
(C. A. Hedin, 11/10/1855, Plan Book 49/62, NONA)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

in 1845 and sold it for \$2,200 in 1848, and the act recorded for the first time the presence of buildings. In any case Jean Brown sold out to an Irishman, Patrick Carmody, who held it for a few years and sold to Henry Scheltmeyer, who sold to another German, Bernard H. Mieden. Incidentally the value of the property was plummeting, \$2,000 in 1853 and \$1,425 in 1855.

The Mieden's held on to the property for twenty years, but it continued to decline in value, reaching \$1,060 in 1878, after it had gone through several additional owners. Diedrich H. Koehler, yet another German, held the property for another twenty years, but it appears that the buildings were removed during his tenure.

Braun's survey of 1873 shows three brick buildings touching the front boundary line of the square, and thus possibly touching the floodwall right of way. They are all one story, and probably all residential. Each has a rear building, an outhouse or kitchen.

The building on lot 15 is the most substantial of the three. It replaced a small wooden creole cottage that formerly sat on that lot and for which an archival drawing exists. [Plan book 46, folio 38] The plan is undated.

After the turn of the century the Crescent Ice Company took over most of the square. Its reign was short-lived, however, for it had to sell out to the City in 1908.

SUMMARY

Of all the identified buildings on the square, the floodwall is most likely to go through the brick cottage on lot 12. However, the more extensive digging required for the gate at Third Street may intrude more dramatically on the residential building on lot 20. This entire square should be watched.

Digging Sequence:

1. Lot 11--Beginning at the upriver corner of the square (Fourth Street), no building identified in first 25' 11" 6''' .
2. Lot 12--Brick residential building c. late 1850s, next

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

25' 11" 6"".

3. Lots 13, 14--No buildings identified for next 51' 11".
4. Lot 15--Brick one story building over creole cottage, next 25' 11" 6"".
5. Lots 16, 17, 18--No buildings identified next 77' 10" 6"".
6. Lot 19--One story brick building next 25' 11" 6"".
7. Lot 20--Two story wooden structure next 25' 11" 6"". See attached front and rear elevations.

SQUARE 4 DISTRICT 4

The project site just misses the squares below Square 8, including squares 3 and 4, since it occupies the right of way of Tchoupitoulas. This street, formerly Levee Street at this point, was just a dirt road known as Public Road in the 18th and early 19th centuries. It was first paved in the early 1840s with large granite blocks, the paving surface that remained until the street was rebuilt by the Works Projects Administration in 1937. However, granite blocks may remain under the sidewalk area on each side of the right-of-way.

The widow Panis subdivided the square in 1813, and developers Harrod and Ogden resubdivided in 1824 when they acquired the Panis estate. Square 4 is bounded by Philip, Tchoupitoulas, Water and Soraparu Streets.

Most of the square was acquired by Robert Layton about 1824. Layton had been present in the faubourg for some years as the operator of a rope walk on the lower boundary of Faubourg Panis. The rope walk required a long narrow strip of ground on which hemp was laid and spun and twisted. The Layton rope walk was located between Saraparu and First, extending from Levee street inland.

Layton died in 1843, and his inventory showed a total value of \$102,275. On February 2, 1844 Hugh Grant, surveyor for the City of Lafayette, prepared a plan for the Layton estate known as "Plan of 254 Valuable Lots of Ground Situated in the City of Lafayette Belonging to the estate of

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

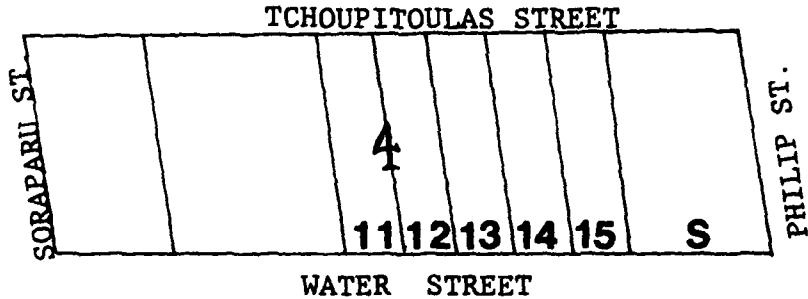


Figure 70.

Plan of square 4. The center of the square contained the
Planters Fertilizer Company. (1874: Braun)

Robert Layton," (Plan Book 102, folio 18). On April 13, 1844 the lots were sold at public auction at Banks Arcade. Layton's testamentary Executor was Isaac Trimble Preston, who soon married Layton's widow, Margaret Newman Hewes. The heirs of Layton purchased many of the lots at the public sale, but purchased them in solido. Four years later they partitioned their joint estate, with lots 11-14 on square 4 going to the widow. In 1856 she sold the four lots to her son, Robert Layton, Jr. and Edward Ivy; together the lots were worth \$9,247.42, and contained buildings. About this time adjoining lot 15 also contained a building, a three story brick warehouse. These buildings make up the heart of the square and are evident on the Braun survey done in 1873. All five above mentioned lots were acquired by Josephus M. and James W. Reeve about 1859, who sold out in 1866 to Mrs. Catherine Chandler for \$12,000. She kept the buildings until 1881 when Albert Baldwin and others organized the Southern

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

Manufacturing and Exporting Company of New Orleans.

Lot S was acquired by Alexander Philips from Harrod and Ogden in 1824 and stayed in his possession for fifty three years. The purchaser, Mrs. Catherine Kerns, bought it for \$1,750, held it for eleven years and sold it in 1888 to Planters Fertilizer for \$3,500.

SQUARE 3 DISTRICT 4

In 1779 Don Jacinto Panis purchased an eight arpent plantation extending from the Livaudias lands (just above Soraparu) to St. Andrew street. His widow, Marguerite Wiltz Milhet Panis, subdivided the plantation and laid out Cours Panis (Jackson Avenue) in 1813. Her daughter by her first marriage, Catiche Milhet, wife of Pierre George Rousseau, inherited the land, but in 1818 sold it to John Poultney, and the current subdivision was made. Poultney was to pay \$100,000 for the property, but before he did he went bankrupt and died. His creditors were led by Charles Harrod and Francis B. Ogden and they won a suit entitled Charles Harrod et al vs Widow Poultney, tutrix of minor heirs of John Poultney. On February 23, 1824 the plantation was sold at public sale and Harrod and Ogden purchased it.

Harrod and Ogden then immediately began selling the lots on a large scale. The upriver half of the square 3 consisted of lots R, Q, and P. George Washington Morgan purchased lot Q on June 30, 1824 for \$875. He soon sold it to Jean Baptiste Drouet, who sold it to Samuel C. Rodgers of the city of Philadelphia, but the price had dropped to \$850.

Rodgers evidently erected buildings on the lot, and he sold it on February 8, 1830 to Harmon Warre Bozeman, George Green, and Willis Cheek. These gentlemen subdivided lot Q into three parts, each with 21' 5" 7" facing Levee street (Tchoupitoulas).

Bozeman and his partners then partitioned the property between them and Bozeman received the upper end of lot Q. He sold it to James and Partick Devine, who immediately sold it to Patrick McGarey, with buildings. The following year, July 2, 1832, Patrick McGarey sold the lot

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

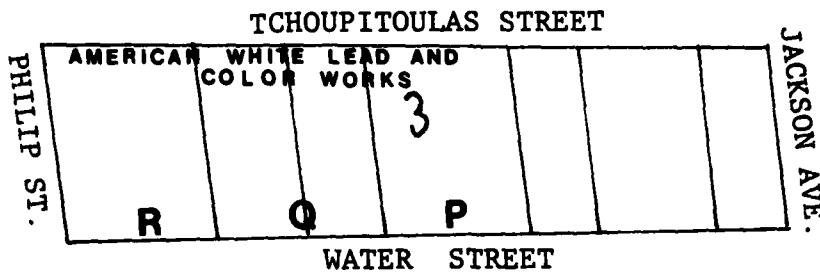


Figure 71.

Plan of square 3. The center of the square contained American White Lead and Color Works. See Figure 55.
(1874: Braun)

to Mary McGarey, wife of James McGarey.

James McGarey and wife held on to the land for the next forty-one years. The Lafayette City Directory for 1838 shows McGarey operating a clothing store on Water street near Philip, on this site. By 1850 he had become a justice of the peace with an office on the end of his lot facing Levee street and his residence on the end facing Water street.[Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Director, 1850].

In 1873 an English company organized a steamship line to run to New Orleans and named it the Mississippi & Dominion Steam Ship Co. Ltd. In July of 1873 the company purchased the McGarey and adjoining land. This company held the 120 feet in the center of the square between Philip and Jackson.

In 1891 Mississippi & Dominion sold their property to a new firm, the American White Lead and Color Works for \$17,033. Three years later this company acquired the property at the Philip street end of the square. American White Lead evidently ran into some financial difficulties,

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: LOUISIANA TO JACKSON

for in 1900 they reorganized under the name of American Paint Works. However, the city's drive to upgrade the levees and build the Public Belt Railroad doomed the enterprise at this location. In 1908 they sold out to the City of New Orleans for \$73,000 [Illustration page 149].

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

JACKSON AVENUE TO THALIA STREET

SQUARE 30 DISTRICT 4

The floodwall passes in front of this square in the right of way of Tchoupitoulas Street. On the river side of Tchoupitoulas is square 2.

SQUARE 31 DISTRICT 4

In 1930 the Levee Board found that it must move the Levee back in the area between Jackson Avenue and Nuns Street. Accordingly, the Levee Board purchased a small portion of the front of squares 30, 31, 32, 33 of District 4 and the tip of square 35 in District 1. On this tract they relocated Tchoupitoulas Street. Since the floodwall follows the outer edge of Tchoupitoulas this movement places the floodwall on the river edge of Squares 31, 32, and 33.

The nature of the structures on the lower river corner of square 31 is not known. Jean David Laizer purchased the land on the lower corner at the auction sale held in 1824 by developers Charles Harrod and Francis B. Ogden. In 1852 his heirs sold lots 1 & 2 (each 32' 2" 6") on Levee Street, with lot 1 having 100' on Adele Street) to Frederick Leopold. The lots stayed in his family until 1922 when Ferdinand B. Stern acquired them. In 1931 most of the lots were acquired by the Levee Board and donated to the City of New Orleans [Carlile Pollock N.P.: 5/14/1824; COB 66/326 Orleans Parish; COB 354/402 Orleans Parish; Robert Legier N.P.: 5/7/1931].

Across Tchoupitoulas from square 31 was square 1, which contained a fine row of tenement housing in the 1850's. A plan and drawing are available in the notarial archives [See plan on page 107].

SQUARE 32 DISTRICT 1

On September 28, 1929 the Board of Commissioners of the Orleans Levee District purchased the front part of squares 32 and 33 from the Federal Compress and Warehouse Company. Of square 32 the Board purchased 112' on St. Andrew and 89.5' on Adele Street with the full frontage on Tchoupitoulas [H. Nowalsky N.P.: 9/28/1929]. The Federal

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: JACKSON TO THALIA

Compress was a late cotton press, a 20th century press that illustrates the continuing need for that service. Their buildings still stand on both sides of St. Andrew at Tchoupitoulas.

Prior to their buildings earlier buildings stood on the corner sites. Lot 1 at the corner of Adele and Tchoupitoulas contained a one story building in front with 2 sheds in the rear in 1888 [J. Bendernagal N.P.: 5/18/1888]. Lot 2 contained a double tenement two-story brick store and residence with two one story slated buildings in the rear [John C. Davey N.P.: 5/20/1905]. In 1868 the same building was there described as a 2 story brick building divided as 2 stores, one was leased for 3 years at \$720/year [W. J. Castell N.P.: 3/18/1868]. Lot 3 also had buildings on it. The property all came out of the estate of Francisco Canellas who left three "natural" children, Joseph, Francisco, and Roseline, as well as Cecile Dubreuil Canellas, a daughter living in Spain. All were free persons of color. Canellas probably purchased the land at the auction sale of 1824.

SQUARE 33 DISTRICT 1

Dennis O'Driscoll Sullivan assembled the lots on square 33 in 1856 and founded a cotton press, known originally as the Sullivan press, then the Pelican press, and lastly the Federal Compress. The center of the purchased property was owned by Frederick D. Conrad who operated the Conrad warehouse [H.B. Cenas N.P.: 5/7, 5/9, 5/21, 6/26/1856; See plan page 118]. John Gleise purchased the corner lot with St. Mary in 1818, and it had a building on it at the time. Remnants of this dwelling be may found. Gleise and his neighbor Georges Passau got in a struggle with the City of Lafayette when Lafayette's harbormaster Joshua Winter attempted to seize their batture for road and levee repair. Gleise used his property for oyster dealers and his neighbors operated lumber yards.

Square 33 constituted most of the frontage of a

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: JACKSON TO THALIA

small plantation owned by the Ursuline nuns for about thirty years prior to 1810. They did not live on it, but used it for growing rice and vegetables, and raising cows for the convent in the city. They used the \$40,000 from its sale in 1810 to Joseph Degoutin de Bellechasse to purchase their convent lands below New Orleans that later became the site of the Industrial Canal.

ST MARY STREET TO ST. JAMES STREET

Between these two streets the floodwall proceeds down the right of way of New Levee Street, former batture lands. These lands were never within traditional city squares and never contained more than docks and later railroad tracks. It passes in front of two sets of tobacco warehouses from the 19th century, one of which is still standing on the square bounded by Tchoupitoulas, Nuns, Levee and St. Mary Street [See page 116].

ST. JAMES STREET TO RACE STREET

At St. James Street the floodwall continues along the river while New Levee Street becomes S. Peters Street. This stretch of batture appeared out of the river after 1830 and remained undeveloped until 1868, the subject of a court dispute between the heirs of Robin de Logny, Livaudais, and the City of New Orleans. A plan of the area is in the main text at page 46. For most of this stretch the floodwall remains beyond the developed squares along the waterfront.

At Market Street, however, the floodwall touches the corner of square 23. These lots were purchased at the 1868 auction sale by Nicholas J. Bigley of Pittsburgh, who was a partner in the firm of McCloskey, Bigley & Co. They operated a tugboat named "Nellie" for a period of time, at least up to the dissolution of the firm in 1873. There were apparently no buildings on the land until Judah Hart purchased it in 1891 and erected the Municipal Ice Manufacturing Company there. Ten years later the Crescent Ice Company acquired the property, and in 1905 the New Orleans Railways and Light Company acquired it for part of its power plant. It is currently owned by New Orleans Public

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: CANAL TO TOULOUSE

Service Inc. [Henry C. Dibble N.P.: 8/1/1868; N. B. Trist N.P.: 6/23/1870; P. C. Cuvillier N.P.: 6/17/1873; J. D. Taylor N.P.: 3/26/1891; F. J. Puig N.P.: 9/2/1899, 8/4/1905].

RACE STREET TO THALIA STREET

This property is new batture land that appeared after 1830. Beginning at Race Street the floodwall leaves the river and goes down Front Street, apparently cutting back and forth once so as to go through the edge of square 17. Grenville M. Dodge purchased this square in 1881 on behalf of the Texas & Pacific Railroad and all of the land along this stretch of the floodwall became railroad yards which it remains today [A. Hero, Jr. N.P.: 12/27/1881]. Prior to the railroad acquisition the land was subdivided and owned by various individuals. The titles do not indicate that any buildings were ever constructed on the land.

CANAL STREET TO TOULOUSE STREET

The floodwall site from Canal Street to Toulouse Street is the newest of the five sites. It will occupy land first created by river deposits during the early nineteenth century. This stretch of riverfront where the land gradually built up has been important to New Orleans for the last 250 years, though the alluvium or batture beneath the proposed Floodwall did not exist prior to approximately 1830. The remains of human activities beneath the site are the following:

- 1). Remains of ships in the area downriver from St. Louis Street.
- 2). Remains of levees, revetments and wharfs in the area of St. Louis to Toulouse Streets.
- 3). Railroad track building activity from the post-Civil War period.
- 4). Sugar Sheds A and D constructed in 1870 and demolished approximately 1900.

Throughout the eighteenth century the river's edge remained about 900 feet from the corner of Bienville and Decatur Streets. Beginning about 1812 and extending until after the Civil War the batture or alluvium in front of the

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: CANAL TO TOULOUSE

Vieux Carre steadily grew till the river's edge was 1800 feet from Decatur at Bienville. This growth was greater upriver from that point and lesser downriver to Jackson Square.

The proposed floodwall extends from as close as 250 feet to Decatur at Toulouse to as far as 1300 feet at Canal Street. The waters of the Mississippi covered this site until sometime in the 1830's or 1840's. As the site emerged in the 19th century it remained bare of buildings and other above ground constructions. In the 1860's the Pontchartrain Railroad touched the floodwall site and in the 1870's two sugar sheds were built across the site. In the succeeding thirty years the growth of railroad traffic, with the development of the Southern Pacific (formerly Morgan) and the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, led to the removal of the sugar sheds on the riverside of the tracks and the introduction of new tracks.

The floodwall resides on land that has always been in public ownership, though granted at times to railroad company use. In a major case of 1836, "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Inhabitants of New Orleans, Appellants, v. The United States," the United States Supreme Court resolved contention over batture ownership. [Peters 1853: X, 662-738] In 1825 the City of New Orleans attempted to subdivide and sell four squares of the batture at the upper and lower extremities of the Vieux Carre. The growth of the batture had led to an awkward extent of vacant land between the commercial buildings along Decatur Street and the levee activity. The extent of the batture, as well stated by a contemporary, "instead of being an accomodation to the public, and a convenience to commerce, retards business and increases the expense of the Merchants, and of the Community in general" [H. B. Cenas N.P.: June 30, 1851].

In the 1836 decision the Court recognized that the city had designated all land along the waterfront a "Quay" and as such it was public property dedicated to public use.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: CANAL TO TOULOUSE

The city corporation had at times encouraged and at other times had banned various uses along the batture. In the 1790's the Cabildo granted a plot of land in front of the Vieux Carre to a shipbuilder, but in the 1820's the city banned any ship construction on the left bank of the river. This decision led to the establishment of all New Orleans shipbuilding on the west bank, a characteristic of New Orleans shipbuilding that survives to today.



Figure 72.
Roustabouts on the levee. (Engelhardt 1894: 19)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

BARRACKS STREET TO DESIRE STREET

BARRACKS STREET TO ELYSIAN FIELDS

This short stretch of the floodwall traverses the railroad ferry depot of the Southern Pacific Railroad [See Fig. 53, page 143]. This portion of land is new batture, but it is much smaller in width than the upriver end of the French Quarter. The most historic remains are likely to be the old canal dug by Dubreuil and known later as the Marigny canal. The mill on the canal was set inland from the floodwall site; it should not be located. The portion in front of Esplanade was known as the Commons [see page 15]. The floodwall passes on the river side of Fort St. Charles. The remains of the Third District Ferry or the Southern Pacific Railroad ferry may be encountered, though both will be timber work.

ELYSIAN FIELDS TO MANDEVILLE STREET

The floodwall crosses two former structures in this 2-block stretch [Fig. 73 and 74]. From the 1840's to the late 1880's the levee between Elysian Fields and Marigny street was occupied by the Port Market. Below the Market was the Marigny row of stores [Fig. 21 and 22]. The floodwall is quite close too and may be on the site of the new levee and revetment constructed in 1810 along the batture of the Faubourg Marigny. The Southern Pacific Railroad removed both of the structures formerly in the right-of-way. The possibility of 18th century remains is remote since the structures appear to be considerable distance inland [Fig. 18].

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GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: BARRACKS TO DESIRE

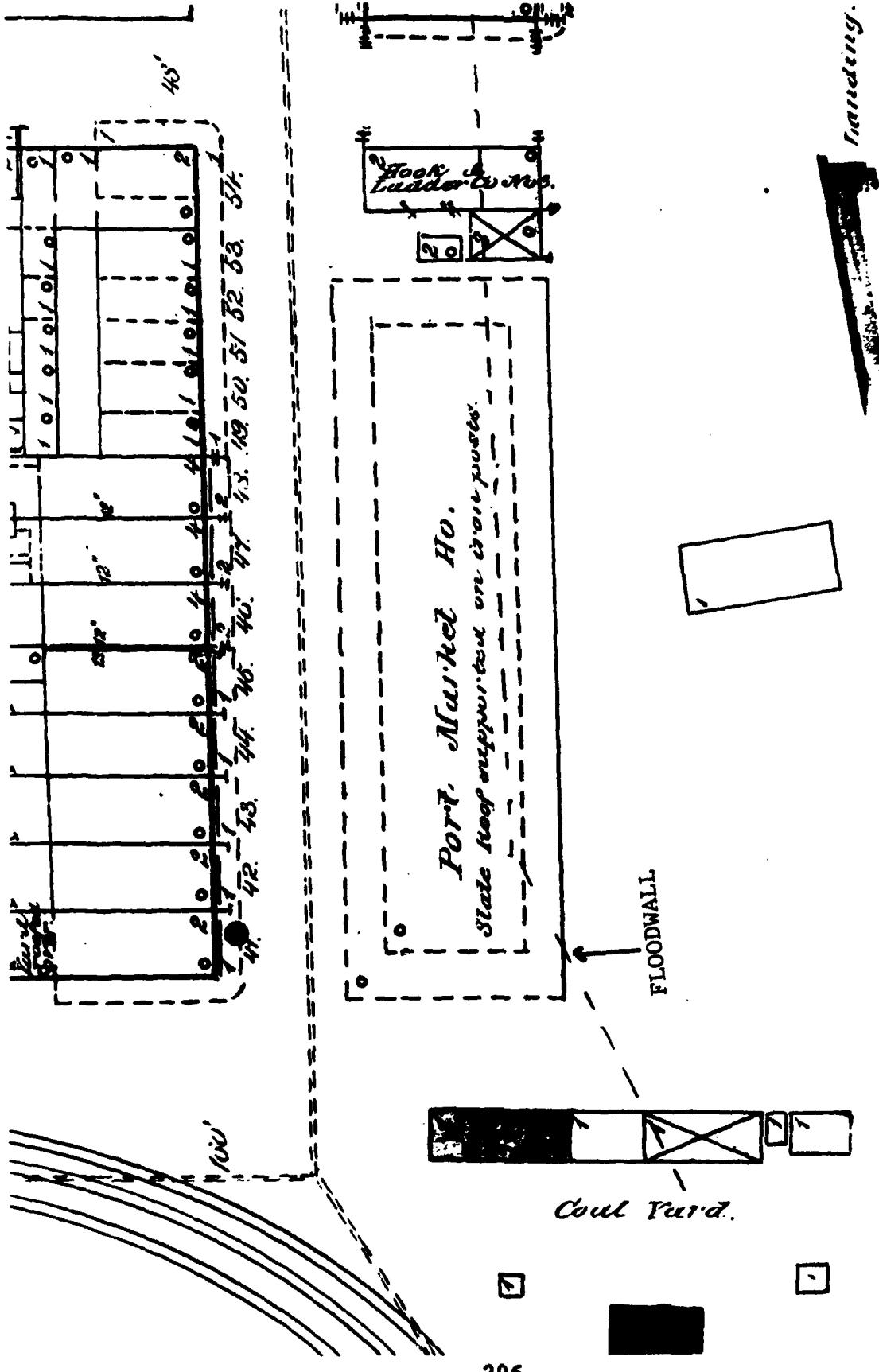
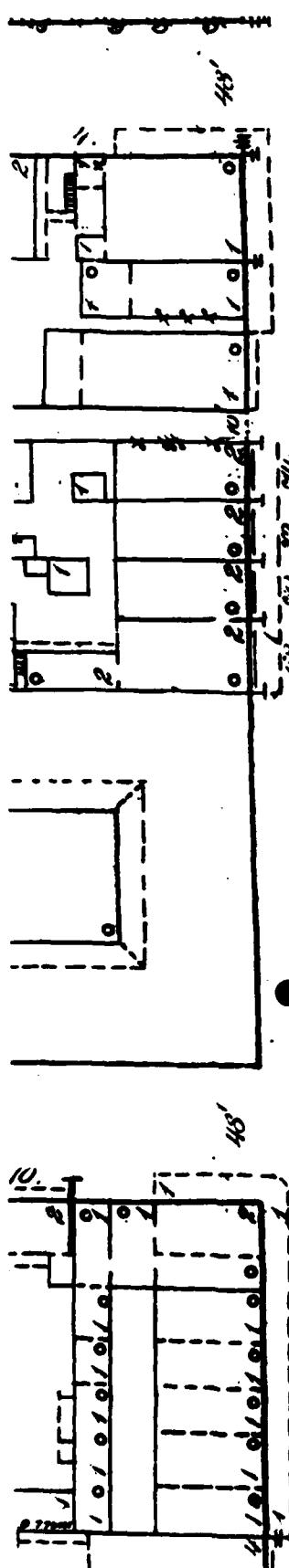


Figure 73. Plan of Port Market. The floodwall alignment will cross the lower edge of the market between Elysian Fields Avenue and Marigny Street. (1876: Sanborn)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: BARRACKS TO DESIRE



NORTH - PETERS - OR - LEVEE



Figure 74. Plan of the riverfront between Marigny and Mandeville Streets showing the Marigny buildings. The floodwall goes through these buildings from left to right. See Figures 21 and 22. (1876: Sanborn)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: BARRACKS TO DESIRE

MANDEVILLE STREET TO ST. FERDINAND STREET

The Floodwall remains in the batture area between these two streets, gradually angling towards the established squares. Over the years a considerable amount of levee work and road movement has been done in this stretch, though the movement has been small in distance. Remains of earlier levees running parallel with the floodwall may be found.



Figure 75.

Plan of lower Faubourgs from Marigny to Macarty plantation by Jacques Tanesse, 1816. Note the ropewalk along D'Enghien at the left, Faubourg Daunois, the plantation of the just deceased Jean Blanque, Mr. Cevaillas, Mr. Montegut, the Bourg Clouet, the square between Louisa and Piety known as the Frascati (square 23), the future Touro Almshouse on square 24, the Montreuil estate, and the temporary fortification erected as the third line of defense in the Battle of New Orleans, approximately Congress Street.

(Courtesy Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: BARRACKS TO DESIRE

ST. FERDINAND STREET TO MONTEGUT STREET

This very important stretch of the floodwall crosses and recrosses the river edge of two squares that contained the Lower Steam Cotton Press [Fig. 76]. The first 165' was the lower portion of the Faubourg Daunois that was sold to Daniel Warburg who contracted with the Company of Architects to construct a series of residential houses on the land. The Company agreed to spend \$60,000 erecting 7 houses facing the Levee and 8 houses facing St. Ferdinand. The houses were to have granite pilasters. The partners agreed that the land was valued at \$50,000, accordingly the Company and Warburg split the income from the sale of the houses 50/110 to Warburg and 60/110 to the Company [L. T. Caire N.P.: 1/10/1833; Charles Janin N.P.: 4/20/1831].

It is possible that some remains of these structures may be touched, but unlikely since they were demolished later in the 19th century and replaced with a large two story brick warehouse. It is the front wall of this structure that might be hit.

Shortly after 1831 N. Peters Street or Levee was straightened out across the front of the squares in this sector. Prior to 1831 N. Peters had proceeded from Marigny straight to the edge of the Jean Blanque plantation, then angled right and proceeded downriver. In 1831 the bend was moved upriver 1/2 arpent. Presumably this was done to facilitate the erection of large docks across the front of the cotton press property.

Jean Blanque purchased the middle 1 1/2 arpents of this property about 1806. He had come to Louisiana with de Laussat, the prefect Napoleon had appointed to transfer Louisiana to the United States. Blanque was a young commissaire de guerre, from Bearn. Described as tall and thin, with an oval face and a black beard and hair, he was a brilliant debator and strong orator. He executed his ceremonial duties well, and wrote a pamphlet in the war of words that ensued between the various French parties over Laussat's duties and powers.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: BARRACKS TO DESIRE

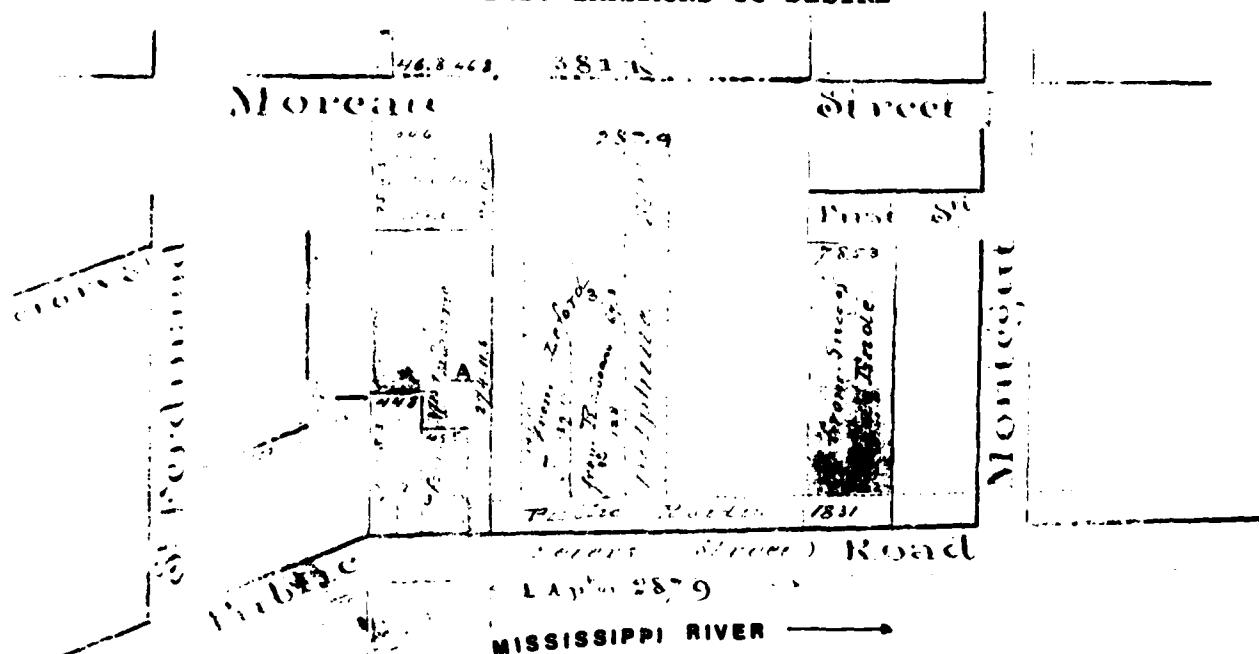


Figure 76.

Plan of the lands held or formerly held by the Lower Steam Cotton Press. This plan shows the movement of the Public Road and the 1 1/2 arpents acquired by the Cotton Press from Madame Delphine Macarty Blanque LaLaurie. The 1 1/2 arpents are the frontage marked "1 Apt or 287.9'".

(Plan of A. de Armas in C. G. Andry N.P.: 4/3/1882)

After the transfer Blanque remained in Louisiana, became an American, and married the beautiful Delphine Macarty, widow of Ramon Lopez y Angullo de la Candelaria. Blanque served in the Constitutional Convention of 1811-12 and in the State Legislature. Unfortunately death cut short a brilliant career in 1816. His widow then married a third time, to Dr. Louis Lalaurie [Tinker 1884: 40].

Blanque's widow inherited his small plantation and held it until July of 1831 when she sold it to the Levee Steam Cotton Press for \$76,000. The act of sale noted that the depth of the land had increased due to the recent movement of the Public Road towards the river [F. de Armas N.P.: 7/26/1831]. In the early 1880's the New Orleans & North Eastern Railroad acquired the cotton press property and constructed a major freight railroad depot, installing the first tracks that now make up the Press Street corridor.

The floodwall seems to miss the lower 120' of the

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: BARRACKS 1 DESIRE

square. On this land were two warehouses, one known as the Liverpool warehouse and the other Bonded Storage. Subsequently they were replaced by a six-story brick building operated by the National Rice Milling Company [Sanborn map 1876; W. D. Denegre N.P.: 6/13/1892].

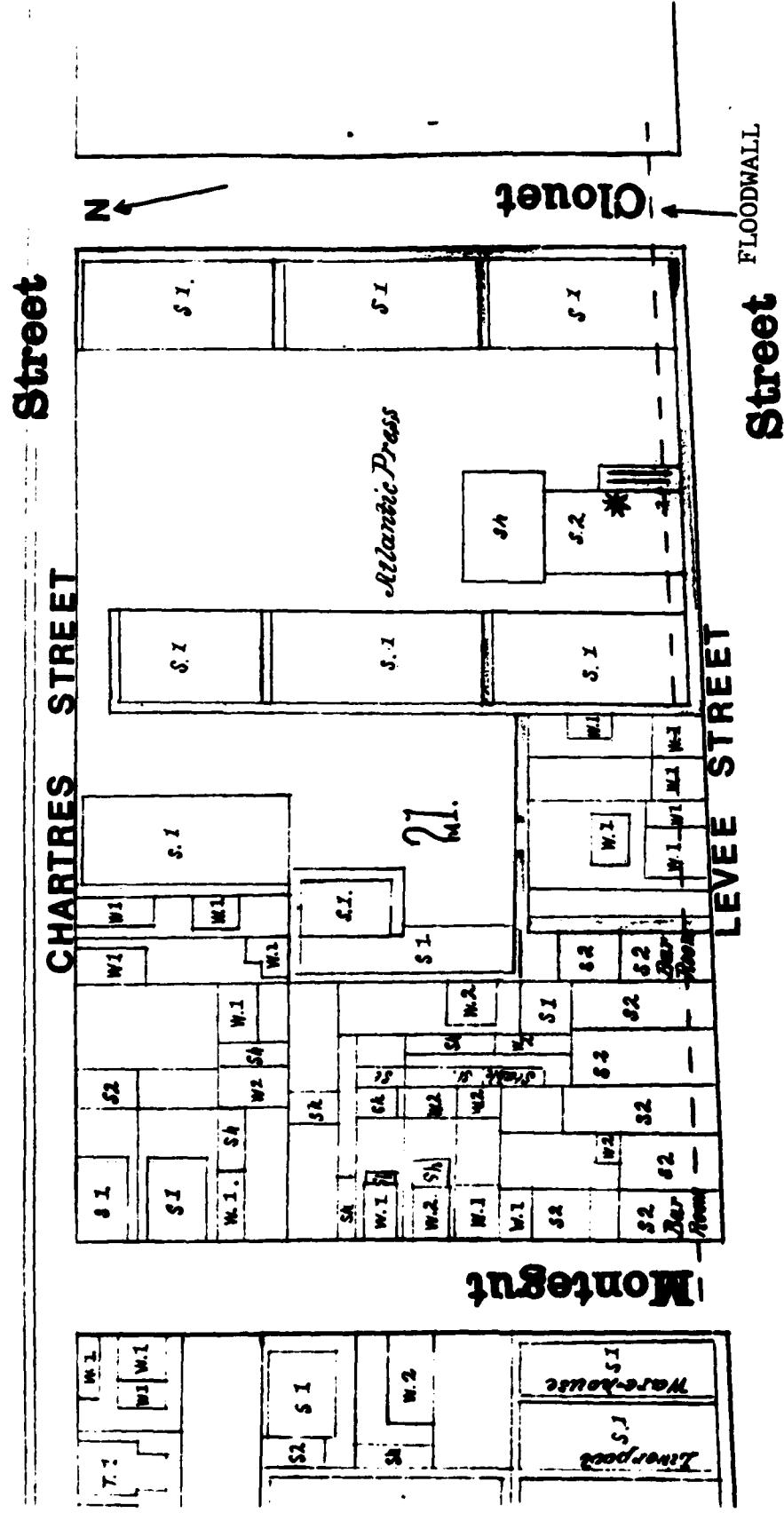
MONTEGUT STREET TO CLOUET STREET SQUARE 21

The upper half of this square has traditionally been residential and the lower half industrial. The floodwall runs just a few feet inside the historic property line of the square.

Soon after 1831 a structure was erected at the corner of Montegut and Public Road 90' on the river by about 25' deep that could be a series of small houses or a stable. By 1876 a series of 10 houses, including 2 barrooms, stood in the upper half of the square [L. Herman N.P.: 5/29/1841; Fig. 77].

The lower half of the square was primarily industrial. The New Orleans Foundry, founded by Pierre Soule in the 1830's, occupied the site until the Civil War. After the war Ignatius Szymanski acquired the foundry and opened the Szymanski Cotton Press that by 1876 had become the Atlantic Cotton Press. Its buildings remained until 1910 when the front 100' of the square was taken for the levee setback [Orleans Levee Board, Commercial Front Survey (July, 1907, sheet no. 14; E. Bouny N.P.: 12/21/1865; Sanborn map 1876; Robert Legier N.P.: 6/21/1910]. The central building of the 3 facing N. Peters Street was a 2-story brick building that formerly contained the press. Its foundations are likely to be heavy. Its lower side is approximately 100' above the corner of Clouet and North Peters.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: BARRACKS TO DESIRE



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Figure 77.
Plan of square 21 showing floodwall alignment along Levee Street. (1877: Braun, courtesy Southeastern Architectural Library, Tulane University Library)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: BARRACKS TO DESIRE

CLOUET STREET TO LOUISA STREET SQUARE 22

This square was entirely industrial. At the turn of the 19th century this was the site of the de Longuais guildive [see page 95]. The only exception to the industrial character was the Sporl house that stood in the center of the square until the 20th century [see page 96]. At the upper end of the square was the Dennis Sheen hauling company, shown below with the Pelican Brewery in the background [Fig. 78].

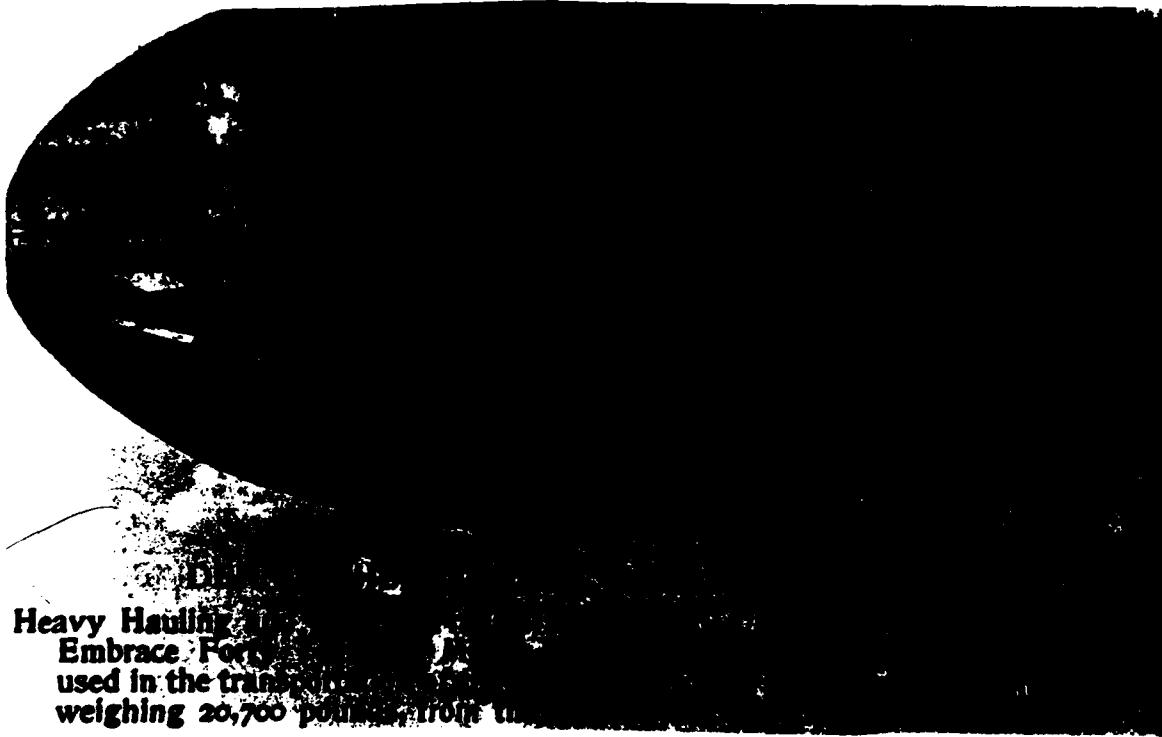


Figure 78.
View of Sheen Yards, square 22. (Engelhardt 1904: 191)

The Pelican Brewery descended from the Louisiana Oil Company, and operated a heavy 3-story building through which the floodwall passes. The Sheen buildings were primarily wooden stables. Below the brewery the floodwall crosses the front yard of the Sporl house and passes close behind the Lawler Flour Mill, a 5-story concrete building that replaced the small structures shown on the corner of Louisa and N. Peters in the 1877 Braun map [Fig. 79].

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: BARRACKS TO DESIRE

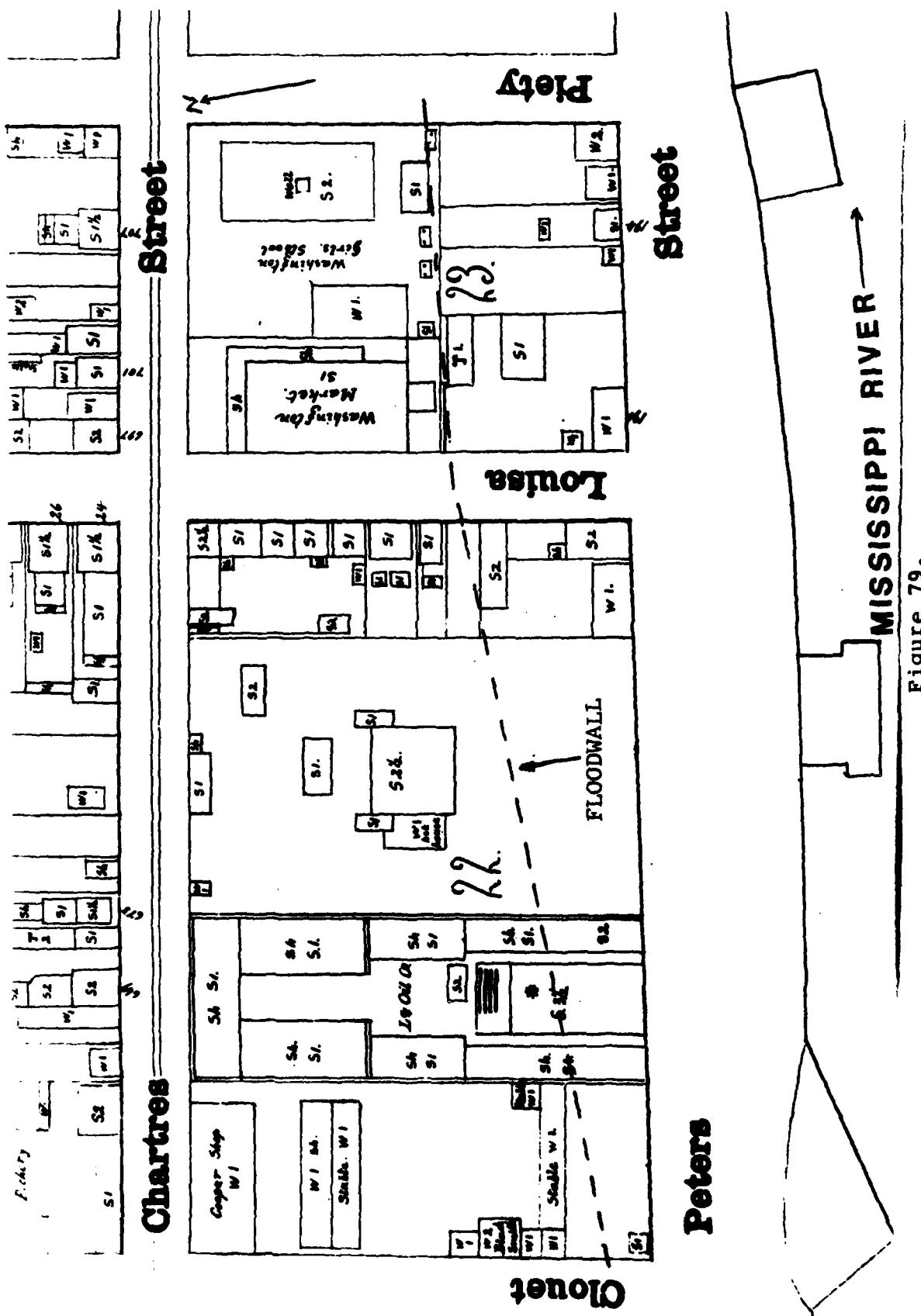


Figure 79.
Plan of squares 22 and 23 showing floodwall alignment.
(1877: Braun)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: BARRACKS TO DESIRE
LOUISA STREET TO PIETY STREET SQUARE 23

At the turn of the 19th century this square contained the principal home of Louis Brognier de Clouet, a former Captain in the Spanish service. In 1810 he sold the square to Pierre A. Cuvillier, a recently arrived St. Domingan. The City of New Orleans purchased the square in 1813, and sold most of it to Solomon Sacerdotte in 1820. He operated what was probably a gambling establishment in the old Clouet home for a number of years known as the Frascoti. In 1823 Sacerdotte ran out of money and sold the land to Manuel Andry, who leased the establishment back to him. In 1836 Andry sold the rear half of the square to the city and it became the Washington Market facing Louisa Street and eventually the Washington Girls School facing Piety. The front half of the square held small residences. Towards the end of the century the front half of the square became the Jung & Sons' Coal Company [Fig. 80; F. de Armas N.P.: 3/19/1836; C. Pollock N.P.: 3/18/1823; Sacerdotte v. Matossy 4 Mart. (N.S.) 26].



JUNG & SONS
Coal Dealers and Shippers
Offices, 225 St. Charles Street. Yards at Docks, Basin and the Levee

Figure 80.
View of Jung & Sons' Coal Company. (Engelhardt 1904: 87)
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GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

PIETY STREET TO DESIRE STREET SQUARE 24

This square was the site of the Touro Alms House until it burned in 1865 [Fig. 51 and 82]. In the late 19th century the land remained vacant and the City leased the land to the W. G. Coyle Coal Yard. The floodwall will apparently pass lengthwise through the former site of the Touro Alms House. The foundations of this large building could prove difficult. Earlier this square was the location of a sawmill operated by J. F. Miller.

DESIRE STREET TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

The floodwall passes through the middle of the squares between the former N. Peters and Chartres Street along this alignment. There is ample opportunity to hit middle and late nineteenth century residential structures.

DESIRE STREET TO ELMIRA STREET SQUARE 25

The alignment begins with the plantation of Francoise Carriere, the widow of the Robert Gauthier Montreuil, Knight of the Royal Order of St. Louis [Fig. 81 and 82]. Montreuil had been a French soldier prior to the time Louisiana was granted to Spain, and was born in 1714. That he received the Order of St. Louis was a credit to the friends he made since his evaluation was "an officer without talent, only capable of garding the place" [Library of Congress, Transcripts of French Documents, Evaluation 1758]. He owned a 14-arpent plantation downriver in the late 18th century, but after his death his widow wished to move closer to town. Their son Francois married Marie Marthe Macarty, the daughter of Louis Chevalier Macarty, consequently late in the 18th century the upper 3 arpents of the Macarty plantation were carved off and transferred to the widow. In return, she made a will that gave the plantation to her grandchildren, the children of Marie Marthe Macarty. There were two girls, Desire and Elmire, and the streets of the plantation are named after them [Mystic Will of Marie Francoise Carriere, widow Robert Montreuil dated 4/30/1798 in Pierre Pedesclaux N.P.: 6/11/1805].

The plantation covered all of square 25, and 120'

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

F.M. on each of the two adjoining squares. The lower 120' was occupied by the bulwarks erected by General Andrew Jackson as the third line of defense at the Battle of New Orleans. It is clearly shown on the Tanesse map of 1816 [See page 202]. The principal Montreuil home was situated in the square across Chartres, directly on Chartres facing the river [Plan Book 61/21, 1838, NONA]. The plan below is an 1830 subdivision by Joseph Pilie done in 1830 in a simple traditional manner using large lots.

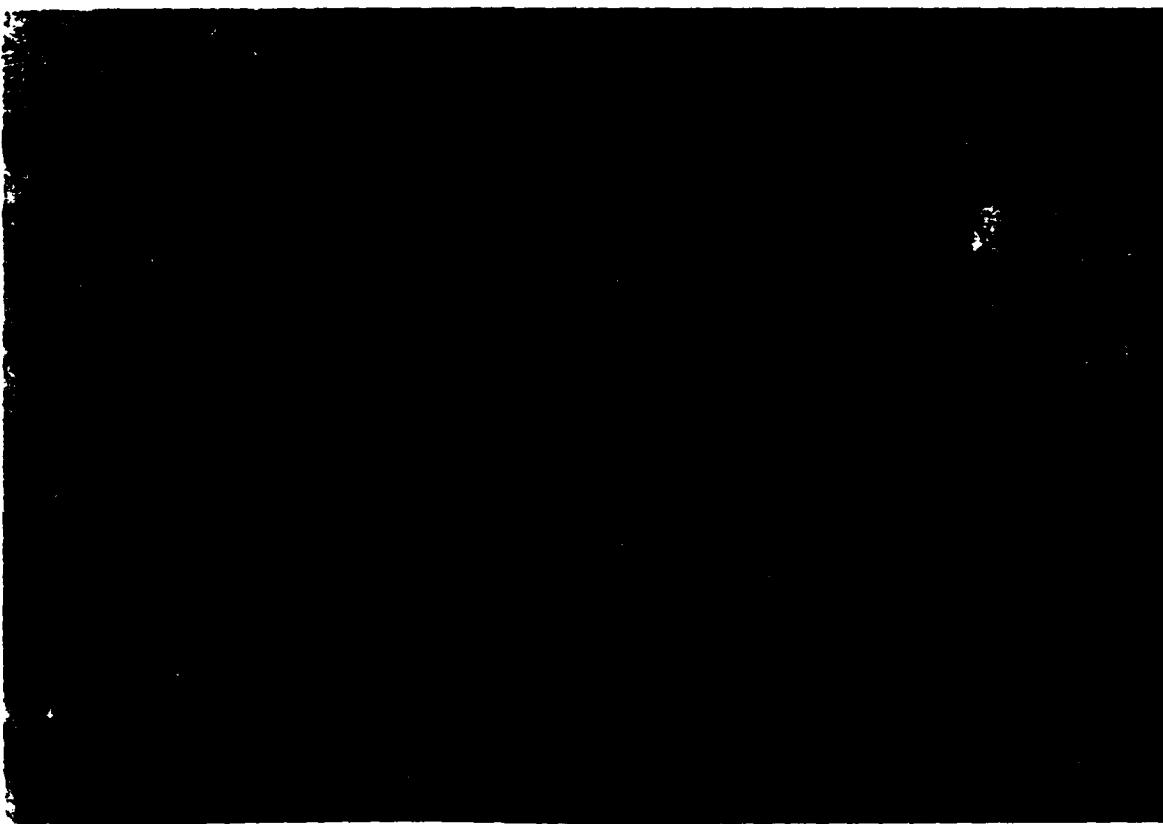


Figure 81.

An 1830 plan of the Montreuil plantation showing eight lots across the front, each of 60' F.M. width. The levee makes two bends. (Plan Book 82/8, NONA)

The front lots of the Montreuil estate went on the market in 1830, and many of them sold. In 1838 the remainder were offered. Prices remained low through the Civil War period, and very little development occurred. In 1866 the heirs of R. D. Shepherd sold lot 3 at the corner of Desire

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL
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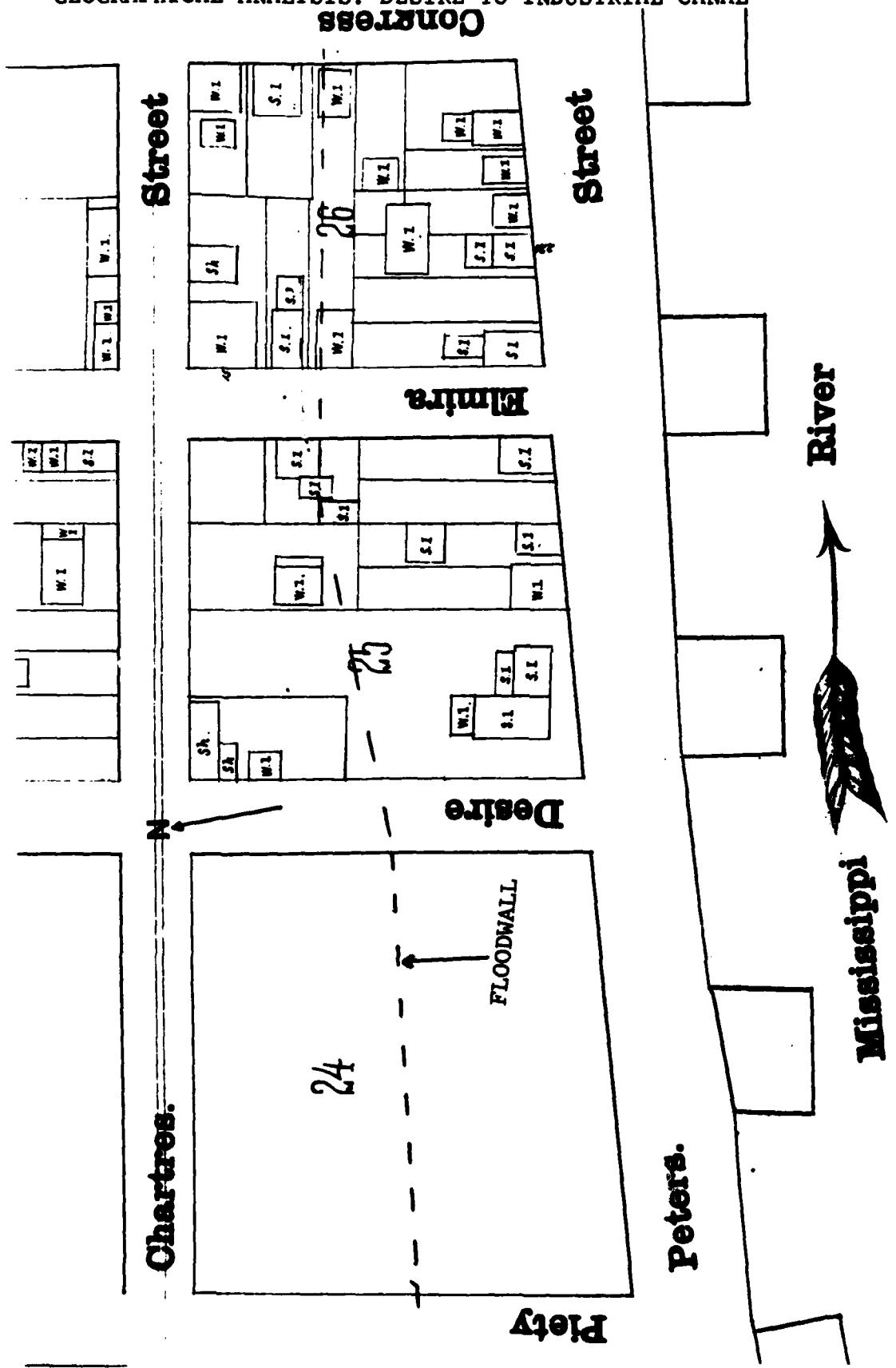


Figure 82. Plan of squares 24, 25, and 26 showing floodwall alignment.
 (1877:Braun)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL
and the river for \$950 [A. Boudousquie N.P.: 4/26/1866].

By 1877 the square was still lightly developed as the Braun map opposite shows [Fig. 82]. But in that year George W. Dunbar opened his major seafood cannery on the square, a business he began in 1865. They packed shrimp, oysters, green turtle, figs and other products. At another location they distilled fine French cordials. In 1878 the cannery won a silver medal of merit at the Paris Exposition. By 1907 the company had factories in Dunbar, Louisiana and Bay St. Louis, Miss, a steamer, the Fearless, 5 gas boats, 3 barges, 4 schooners, and 1 lugger. Dunbar's Sons had acquired nearly the entire square, on which they had an oyster shed, a processing factory, and engine house, and various sheds. The equipment included a shell crusher, steam kettles, steam boxes, oyster cars, shrimp baskets, pumps, an electric light plant, and boilers [Charles T. Soniat N.P.: 2/4/1907; Wm. V. Seeber N.P.: 11/30/1907; N. B. Trist N.P.: 12/5/1876; Board of Levee Commissioners, River Front Commercial Survey, sheet 15; Morrison 1888: 60].

ELMIRA STREET TO CONGRESS STREET SQUARE 26

Most of this small square was taken into the Montreuil plantation, but unlike its neighbor, it remained residential up to the setback of the levee. The floodwall runs about 95' away from Chartres as it crosses the lower half of this square [Fig. 82]. As such it should cross near the rear privies of four residential lots facing N. Peters in the former Montreuil part of the square (the upper 120'), and then it should go through lot 7 as illustrated in Fig. 83 and 84. Lino de la Rosa owned the Congress street side of the square in the 1840's, but he lost it to the Citizens Bank. It sold to Pierre Passebon, who sold to Antoine Cheneville in 1848. Cheneville held the land until 1869 when his heirs sold to Louis Meyer, who kept the land until 1907 [C. Boudousquie N.P.: 6/1/1848; 6/20/1848; Antoine Doriocourt N.P.: 7/22/1869; Wm. V. Shannon N.P.: 10/9/1907]. Careful attention should be paid for privies and residential remains throughout this square.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

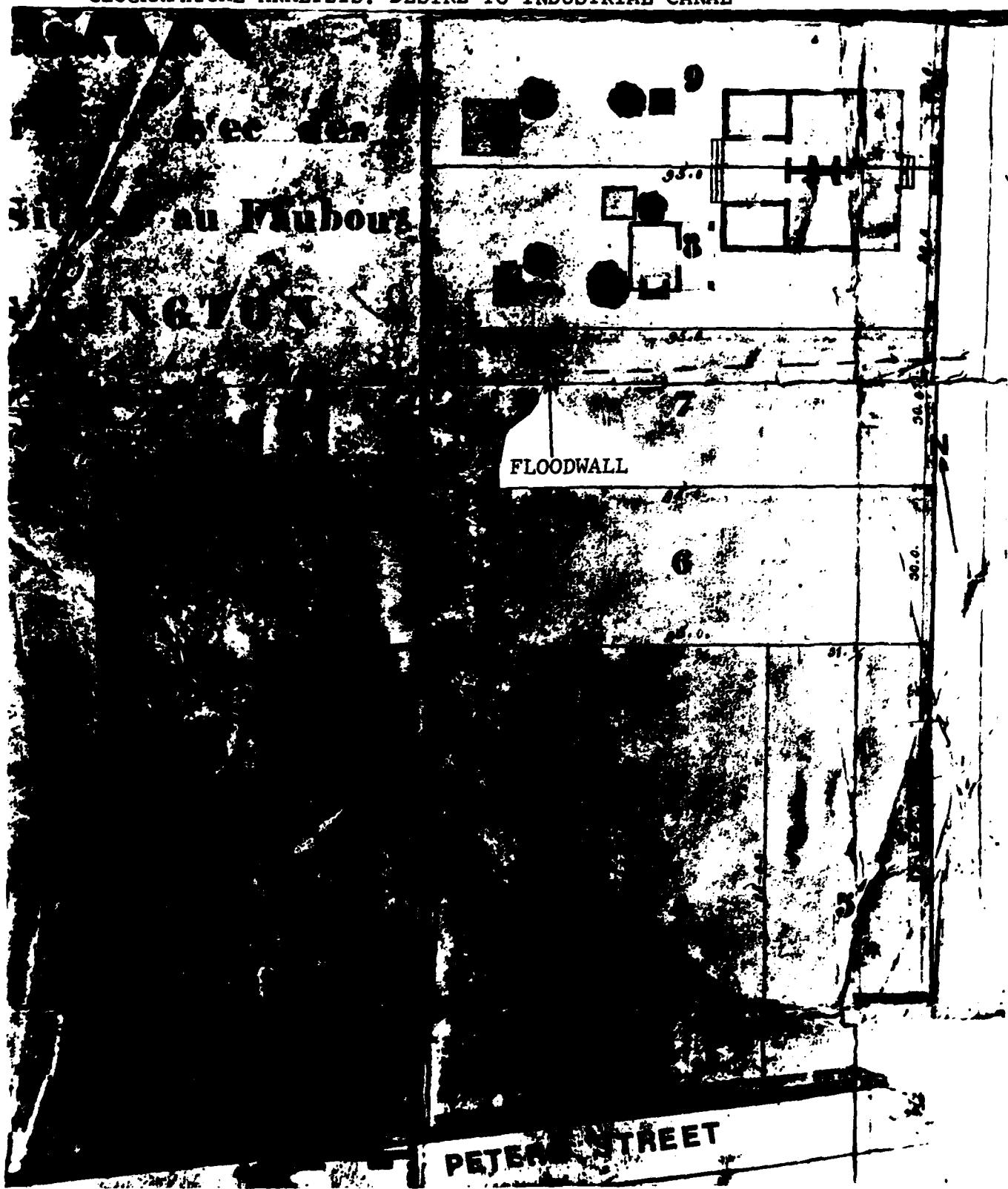


Figure 83.
Plan of square 26 showing residential locations in 1844. See
also Figure 84. (Plan Book 12/12 NONA)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL



Figure 84.

View of residential structures facing N. Peters in 1844. The two buildings on the left correspond with the two plans on lot 2 in Figure 83. (Plan Book 12/12 NONA)

CONGRESS STREET TO INDEPENDENCE STREET SQUARE 27

Square 27 has remained undivided with one temporary exception for its entire history [Fig. 85]. In 1825 the estate of Louis Chevalier Macarty was partitioned among his two heirs--Louis Barthelemy and Delphine Macarty, the notorious Madame Lalaurie. These two and a half arpents at the upper end of the plantation went to Delphine who soon sold to a partnership of Duralde and Donnet. Martin Duralde soon took the entire property over and established a steam saw mill. He went broke in 1835 and sold to John F. Miller and James H. Shepherd, two men who operated a sawmill further upriver. Three years later they turned around and sold the mill and 30 slaves to William DeBuys and William Turner and they went down in 1843. The Levee Steam Cotton Press then took over the square, but the sawmill seems to have disappeared by the end of the decade. Sometime in the next

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

fifteen years the Press leased the land to Louis Pick who erected a distilling and rectifying establishment, "together with all the buildings, machinery, tools, apparatuses, chemical products and moveable effect...and horse and buggy" and Joseph Llulla purchased the land [F. de Armas N.P.: 4/20/1835; C. Boudousquie N.P.: 2/20/1838; 3/15/1849; COB 90/622; E. Grima N.P.: 1/20/1883].

In 1885 the Citizens Bank sold the property to the Union Sanitary Company. This company had been organized three years previously with a capital of \$75,000 "for cleaning sinks, vaults, etc and for the manufacture of fertilizers." This company erected several one story frame sheds on the property, and it appears that the floodwall site will traverse the length of one of them [R. J. Ker N.P.: 1/16/1882; Charles G. Andry N.P.: 6/26/1885].

INDEPENDENCE STREET TO PAULINE STREET SQUARE 28

This square straddles the boundary line between the property given to Delphine and that given to Louis Barthelemy in 1825 [Fig. 13 and 85]. Delphine sold the upriver portion to Duralde and Donnet, and in 1835 they sold the two lots they owned in square 28 to Jean Castellanos, a dentist and barber at 23 St. Philip. He held the property as a residential investment until 1873 when he sold to Martin Leroy. The property stayed in his family until it was taken by the City of New Orleans in 1907 [F. de Armas N.P.: 1/26/1828; 5/26/1835; 9/25/1835; A. Dreyfous N.P.: 7/9/1873]. Houses were on the site in 1835, but by 1876 the only structure was a barroom at the corner of Independence and N. Peters. It is likely that residential remains will be found in the lower half of the square that came out of the Louis Barthelemy estate.

PAULINE STREET TO ALVAR STREET (JEANNET) SQUARE 29

Square 29 was the center of the estate of Louis Barthelemy Macarty, the last significant plantation to be subdivided in the course of the floodwall [Fig 13 and 85]. Louis Barthelemy was one of the last twigs of a mighty family tree that grew up in New Orleans from the 1730's. The

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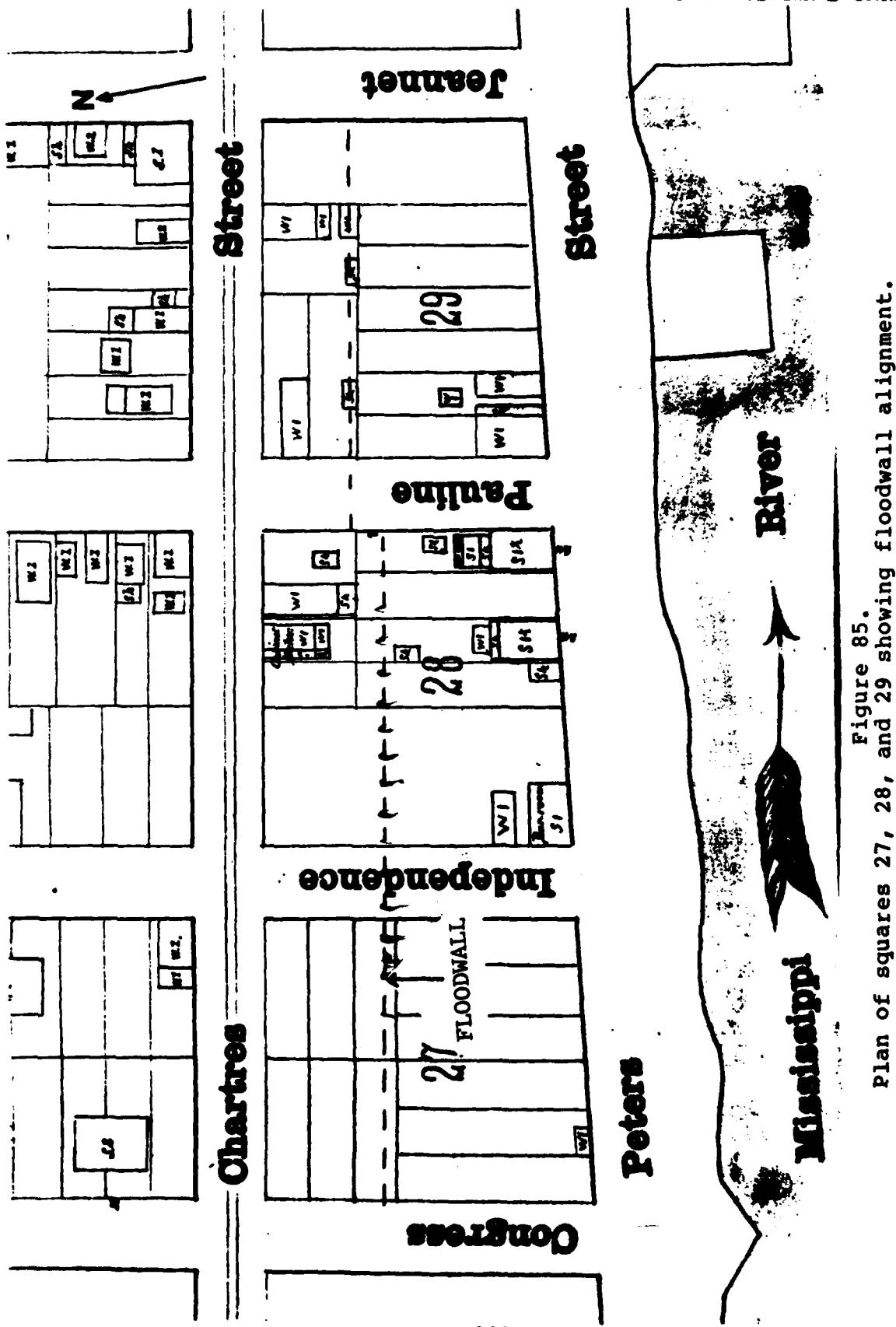


Figure 85.
Plan of squares 27, 28, and 29 showing floodwall alignment.
(1877: Braun)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

two brothers who founded the family were distinguished soldiers who acquired large plantations. One of their daughters married a Spanish Governor and a grandson became mayor of New Orleans. But the family had its crazy element. The mayor is chiefly remembered for throwing the first ice shipment brought to New Orleans in 1817 into the river because of its pernicious effect on health. Spanish Governor Hector Carondelet imprisoned another son for his notorious behavior in 1796 in trying to force his attentions on the young daughter of a friend. Finally, Delphine Macarty, a granddaughter, who married three times and was thrice a widow, was run out of New Orleans in the 1830's after chained and maimed slaves were found in the attic of her burning house [Holmes 1965:251; Arthur: 330].

After Louis Chevalier Macarty died his only son Louis Barthelemy remained living on the three arpents of land remaining after the partition with his sister. He lived there until his death in 1847. The estate consisted of a master house of brick between posts with 8 rooms upstairs and a gallery wrapping around, 8 rooms downstairs, a kitchen building with 2 servant rooms, another wood building serving as an infirmary, another wood building with 3 rooms and a gallery, various other buildings such as slave cabins, pigeoniere, cisterns, garden, and stables. He had many books and a "duguerreotype" [O. de Armas N.P. 5/28/1847]. The estate was sold at public auction to the great land speculator John McDonogh, and his death three years later further delayed any subdivision of this stretch of the waterfront. Finally the City auctioned the land in 1859. The Daily Crescent observed, "The shady old plantation with its wealth of spreading old trees, and shubbery and flowers, is now all cut up into squares. . . .New streets, with new bridges and new corner lamps, intersect the plantation; the old fences and other old wood work of the place, and the old statues which used to adorn the central avenue through the garden are scattered about in the dirt" [Daily Crescent, August 11, 1859]. Unfortunately none of the buildings

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occupied the front part of the property.

Square 29 received little development. The lower end of the square stayed vacant until 1892 when the Home Brewing Company purchased it, but it went into liquidation two years later and Jacob Emmer took over and ran an ice house there, a one story frame structure. It appears that the floodwall will just miss the rear end of that building [J. C. Wenck N.P.: 4/4/1892; F. Zengel N.P.: 5/18/1894; Board of Commissioners Orleans Levee District, River Front Survey, sheet no. 16]. Henry Bittern purchased the upper end of the square in 1868 and constructed a number of buildings--a residence and two sheds along Pauline Street. In 1889 he sold to Frederick Keff who operated a cistern factory at the corner of Pauline and N. Peters [COB 95/580; A. Ducatel N.P.: 12/24/1889]. The floodwall seems to go behind the cistern factory.

ALVAR STREET TO BARTHOLOMEW STREET SQUARE 30

The upper 120' of this square belonged to the Macarty estate and the floodwall goes through lot 5 facing Alvar Street. This lot was purchased by John Bentz (a corn dealer) at the 1859 sale of the estate and his son sold it to the City in 1907. At that time it had a shotgun one story frame home [Fig. 87; E. Bouny N.P.: 5/10/1859/ G. LeGardeur N.P.: 7/13/1891; W. V. Seeber N.P.: 10/2/1907].

The lower part of the square was divided into 5 lots each 30' wide and quite deep. Residences appeared on the front of these lots and it is possible that the floodwall might turn up rear privees. Lots D & E were the lower lots on the square and in the 1840's William C. C. Claiborne erected buildings on them, resubdividing into lots 1, 2, and 3 [Fig. 86]. They remained under single ownership, however, passing to Mrs. Jeanne Eugenie Feveric, then to Bertrand Cestian, then to Michael Roch Sr. and in 1881 to Martin J. Leroy who sold to the City in 1907 [C. Boudousquie N.P.: 5/28/1840; 6/28/1848; A. Chiapella N.P.: 4/12/1851; 4/16/1851; A. Dreyfous N.P. 1/29/1881; W.V. Seeber N.P.: 9/27/1907].

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

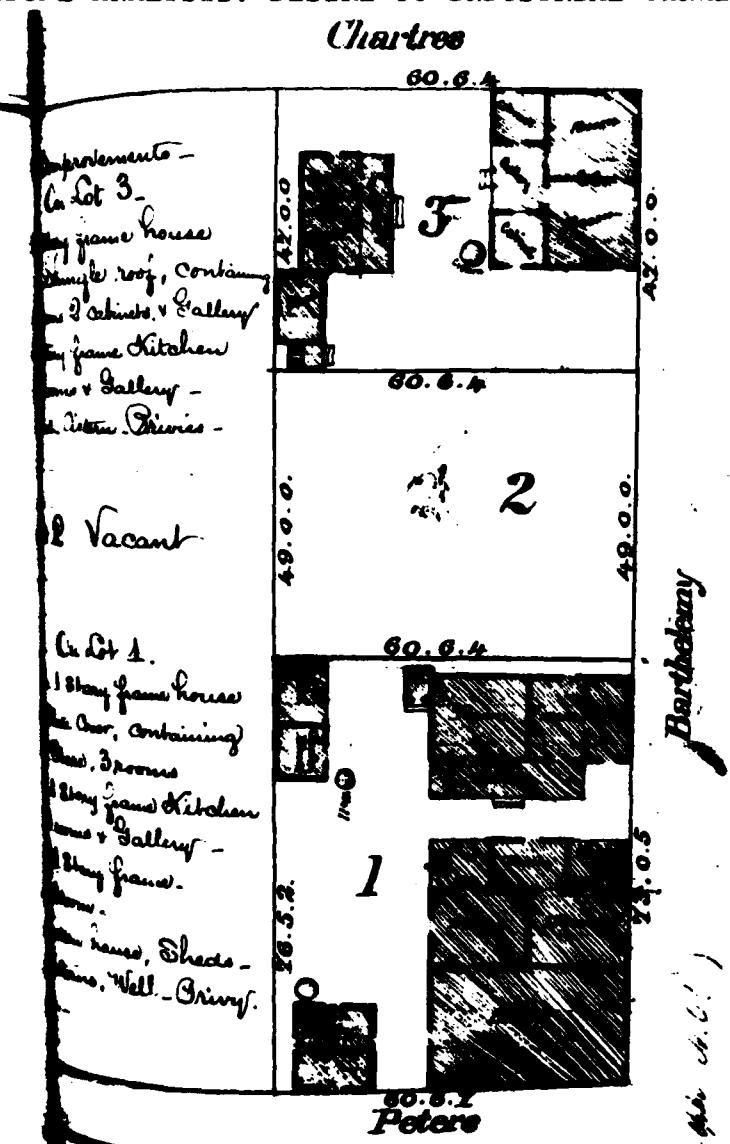


Figure 86.
Plan of residential structures at lower end
of square 30. The alignment appears to pass
through lot 2. (A. Dreyfous N.P.:1/29/1881)

BARTHOLEMEW STREET TO MAZANT STREET SQUARE 31

In 1833 developers L. B. Macarty, Martin Duralde and Etienne Carraby subdivided square 31 and parts of square 30 and 32 into 30' lots [Fig. 87]. The upper half of the square was built on in the 1850's and was owned for a long time by Florville Foy, who sold in 1886 to Fred Klees from whom the City purchased the land in 1907. In the middle of the square the floodwall should pass through a one-story

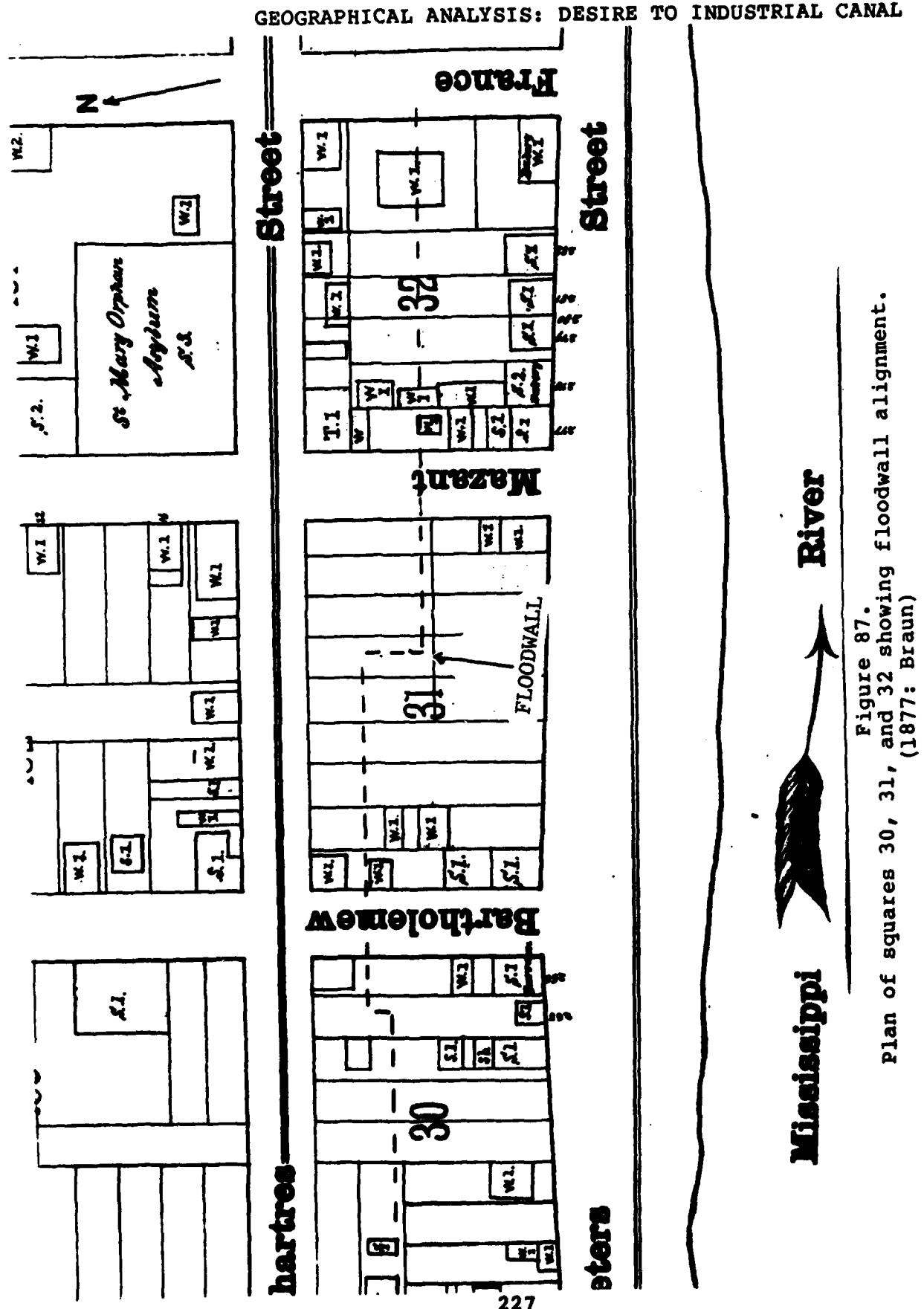


Figure 87.
Plan of squares 30, 31, and 32 showing floodwall alignment.
(1877: Braun)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

frame office building, probably associated with the Barrataria Canning Co. [O. de Armas N.P.: 10/12/1833; P. C. Cuvillier N.P.: 3/22/1853; S. Magner N.P.: 1/19/1858; James Fahey N.P.: 2/8/1886].

The lower half of the square was practically undeveloped until 1899 when the Barrataria Canning Co. constructed a one-story frame building covering a large portion of the square. The floodwall goes through the middle of this building [E. Grima N.P.: 4/21/1899].

MAZANT STREET TO FRANCE STREET SQUARE 32

Square 32 is divided essentially into six lots. Beginning at the upper end is O, followed by P, Q, R, and S [Fig. 87]. These are the lots of the developers mentioned in square 31 established in 1833. The lower lot is the frontage of a half arpent plantation acquired in 1827 by Albert Dominguez, also known as Albert Piernas. The home he built survived as did the estate until the City moved the levee back in 1907 [Fig. 88]. The floodwall is projected to go through the Piernas home, described as one-story frame building, almost square. The estate is beautifully rendered



Figure 88.

Undated plan of the Albert Piernas house and estate at the lower end of square 32. The flood wall is projected to pass through the house structure location.

(Plan Book 37/44, NONA)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

in the plan below. The home was 59' long by 48' wide, with two galleries, one facing the river and the other facing France Street. The ground floor had four large rooms, each 20' x 19', with a vestibule 12' wide. The main floor had the same division with an antichamber and two cabinets. The cisterns (cuves) were six feet in diameter. [F. de Armas N.P.: 2/20/1827; A. Ducatel N.P.: 3/13/1875]. In 1875 the Desbon family acquired the property and kept it until the City acquired it in 1907.

Various small residential structures occupied lots O through S on the upper end of the square. Christopher Leicher established a grocery store and coffee house on Lot O sometime in the 1850's (a large one-story brick building), and the floodwall will pass through the rear of these structures. The coffeehouse grocery store was still operating in 1875 when developer Henry Thoele purchased the property and he held it until 1907 [A. Ducatel N.P.: 6/27/1848; A. Dreyfous N.P.: 1/9/1865; 3/2/1875].

FRANCE STREET TO LESSEPS STREET SQUARE 33

As the floodwall enters square 33 it will pass through the middle of the site of a former cottage owned for many decades by the Conrad Wichterich family [Fig. 89 and 90]. He was married to Margaretha Klees, whose sister Phillipa Klees was married to Nicholas Goetz, the family who owned the other end of the square. This square is comparatively densely populated and the population seems to be German. Nicolas Goetz lived at the corner of Lesseps and Chartres and Peter Goetz lived in the large brick building at the corner of Levee and Lesseps in square 34. Nicolas was a native of Prussia [O. de Armas N.P.: 4/17/1848; A. Dreyfous N.P.: 7/13/1872; W. V. Seeber N.P.: 11/2/1907]. Goetz purchased the lower part of the square in 1852 for \$3,000 with some buildings on it [A. Ducatel N.P.: 1/10/1852; 1/13/1852]. The two Klees women were probably daughters of Jacob Klees who owned land in the middle of the square.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

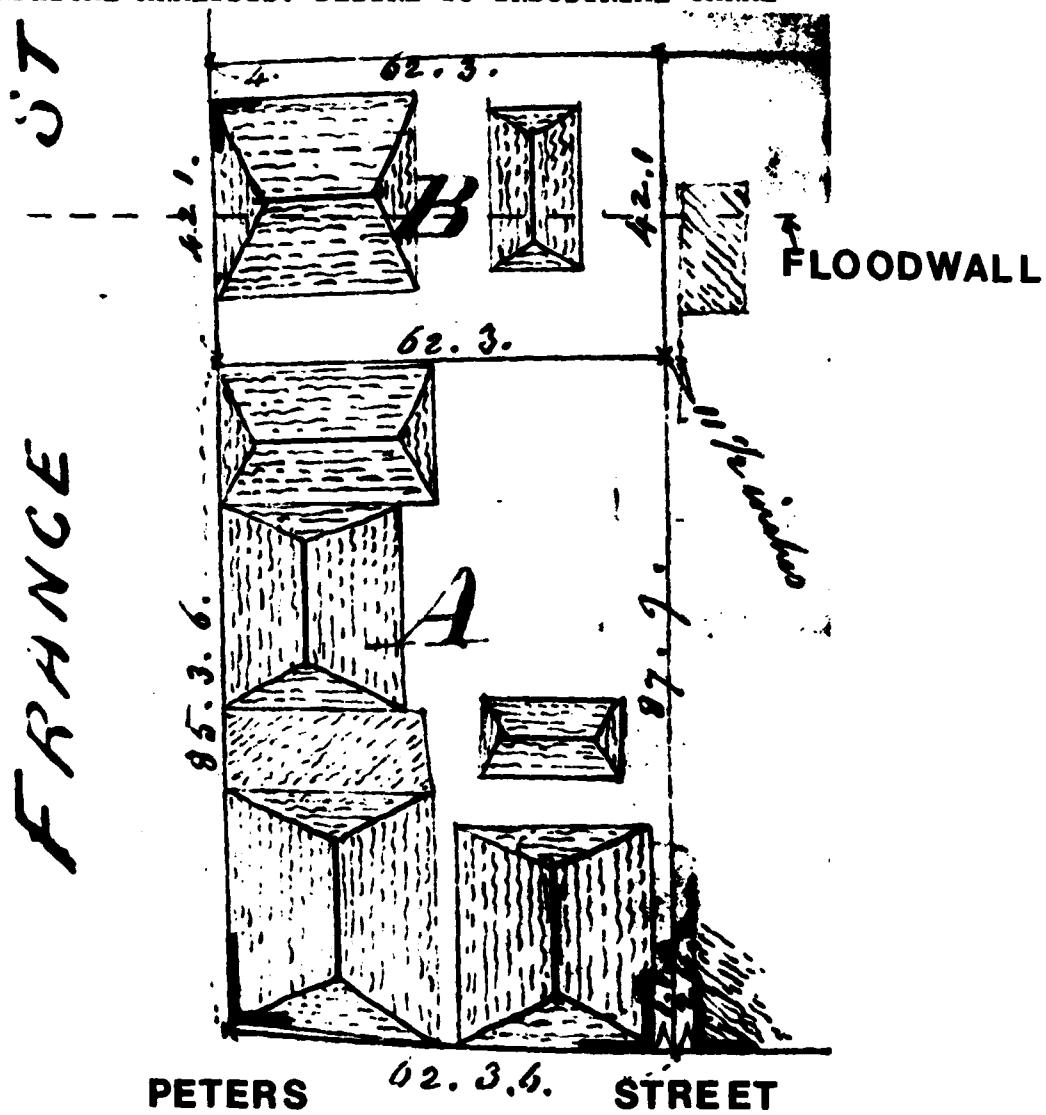


Figure 89.

Plan of lots at the upper end of square 33. Floodwall alignment will cross through the middle of Lot B, moving left to right. (A. Dreyfous N.P.: 7/13/1872)

LESSEPS STREET TO POLAND AVENUE SQUARE 34

A cave-in occurred along the floodwall stretch from Lesseps to the Ursuline Sisters property in 1866. The first levee along here had been built by the City in 1842 and rebuilt in 1862-63. After the cave-in the City had to come in and move N. Peters back by slicing a wedge off the front of the squares. The point of the wedge began at Barthelemy and gradually widened as it reached Kentucky and the Ursulines to about 60'. Many buildings had to be knocked

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

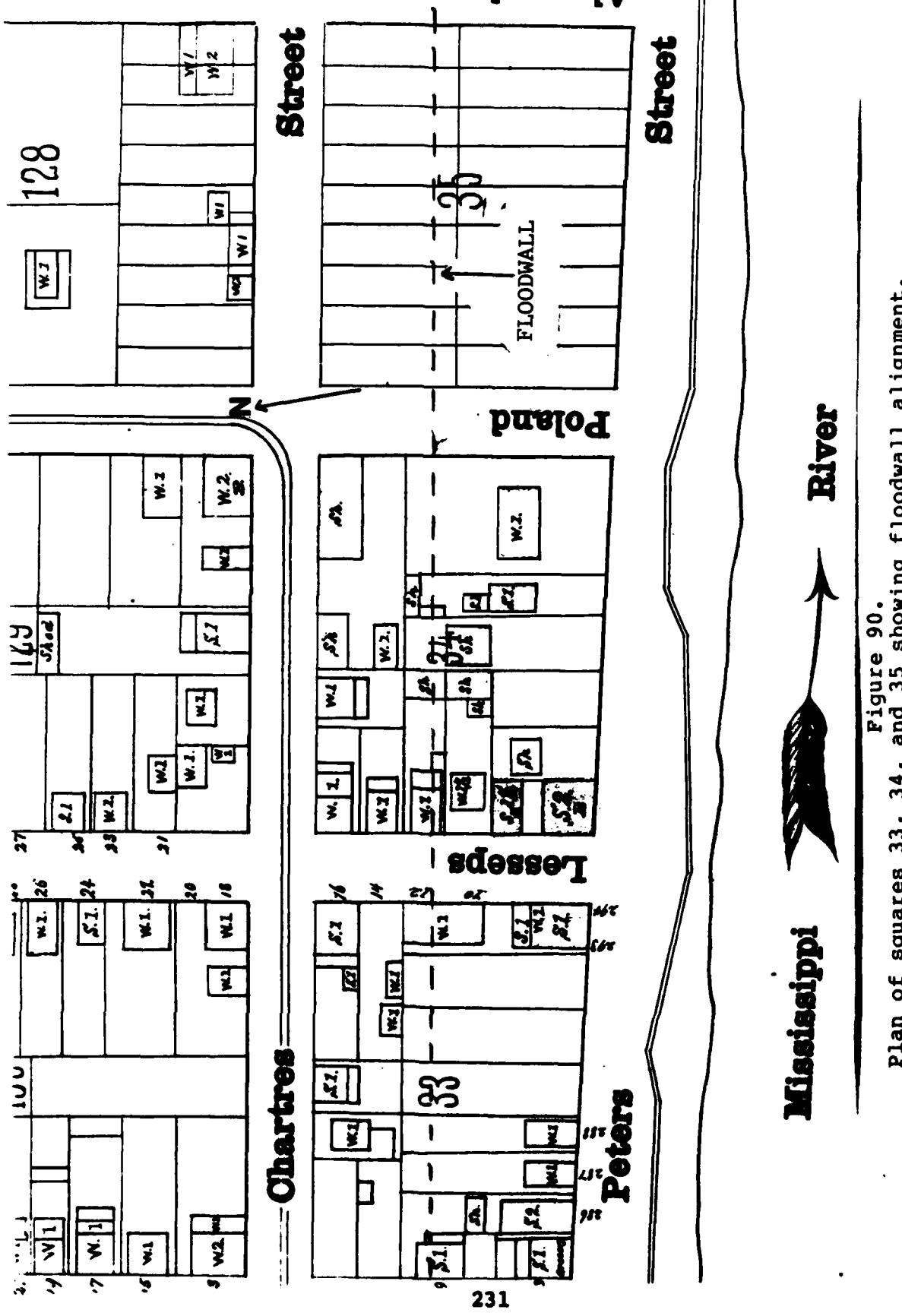


Figure 90.
Plan of squares 33, 34, and 35 showing floodwall alignment.
(1877: Braun)

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

down or moved back, accounting for the closeness of the buildings as shown in Fig. 89. The City paid more than \$40,000 in compensation after the landowners won a judgement that the City must pay for the land taken for the levee [4th D.C. #17773, Supreme Court #1405, filed 10/25/1866, in UNO Library].

The principal building on the square was the Francois Gardere house, built after 1829 by the former Treasurer of the State of Louisiana [Fig. 91]. It was described as vast and commodious, with galeries front and rear and 14 rooms. The floodwall will apparently cross through the middle of this former home as well [F. de Armas N.P.: 4/1/1829; Charles Janin N.P.: 3/2/1832]. The home went through many owners over the years, the principal ones being Jean Bourdin, John and George Heation (who owned much land along this stretch), and Franz Spraul. The house seems to have disappeared by the 1880's [T. Seghers N.P.: 1/19/1841; A. Mazureau N.P.: 10/17/1843; A. Boudousquie N.P.: 8/16/1850; E. Barnett N.P.: 6/24/1872].

POLAND AVENUE TO JOSEPHINE STREET SQUARES 35 & 36

Squares 35 and 36 were first developed to be Tobacco Warehouses in the 1830's [Fig. 92]. Placide Forstall, Edmund J. Forstall, and Miguel de Lizardi developed the business and constructed sizeable brick structures at the downriver corner of Kentucky and N. Peters Street. The company started out with 2 1/2 arpents or 455' stretching downriver from Poland [MOB 1/420; MOB 46/392; John Duggan vs. N.O. Tobacco Co., Commercial Court 1/13/1842]. The company soon went broke and Manuel Jean Lizardi purchased the property from the Citizens Bank for \$83,340. He kept the business for almost 20 years, but in 1861 the bank forced the sale of the property again and Robert Hooper Dixey bought it for \$52,780 just prior to the war. Right after the war he sold it to Patrick Irwin, again at the instigation of the bank.

In 1875 Irwin sold square 36 to Henry Lambou and Joseph Noel, and they converted the brick warehouses into a

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL
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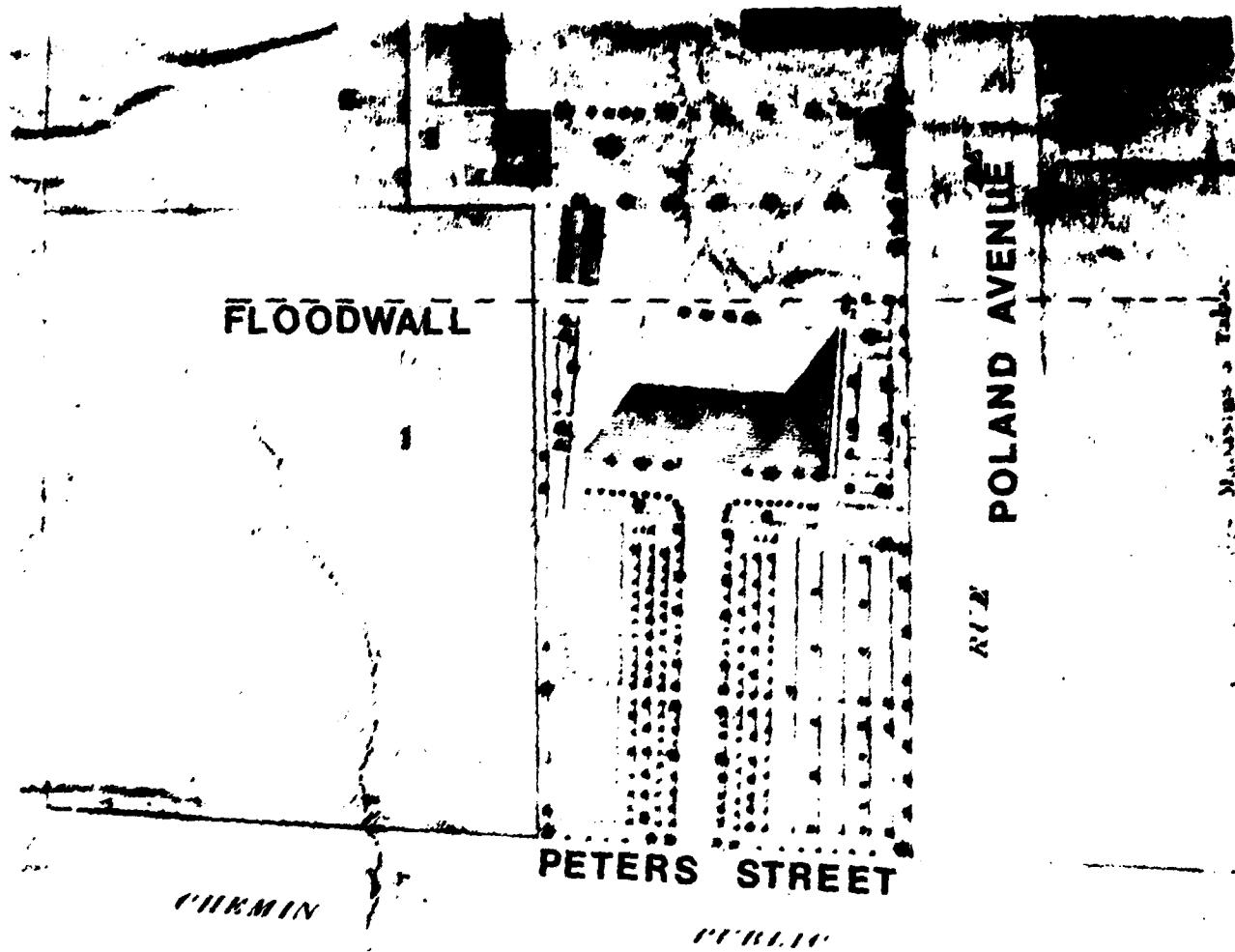


Figure 91.
Plan of the Francois Gardere house, lower end of square 34. Notice the garden and numerous outbuildings. Just downriver is the Tobacco Company warehouses. Undated plan by Joseph Pilie, c. 1839. (Plan Book 96/24, NONA)

large sawmill, with drying kilns 100' downriver. Irwin sold square 35 to Henry Thoele, who bought property in every square along this part of the river. It remained essentially vacant throughout the period [C. Boudousquie N.P.: 10/10/1842; A. Boudousquie N.P.: 8/7/1861; COB 92/140; W. J. Castille N.P.: 5/1/1875].

Towards the lower side of square 36 the floodwall curves inland missing square 37 and the principal Andry home. It does not enter the Convent grounds.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS: DESIRE TO INDUSTRIAL CANAL

Convenient of the Ursulines

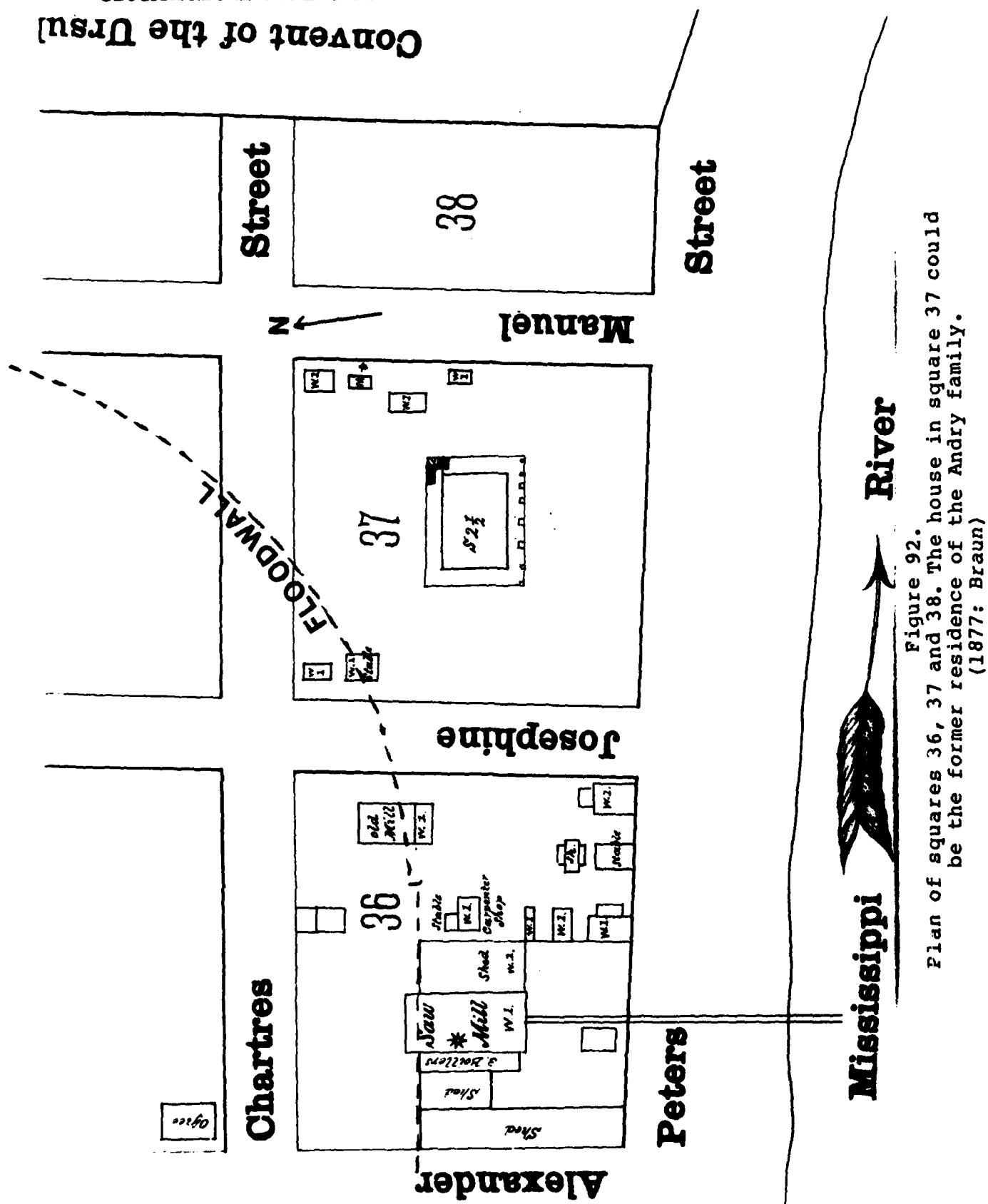


Figure 92.
Plan of squares 36, 37 and 38. The house in square 37 could
be the former residence of the Andry family.
(1877: Braun)

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- 1981 City Planning Commission. Riverfront, Iberville to Gov. Nicholls. Black Line
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- 1893 New Orleans Streets Dept. Riverfront, Canal to St. Philip. Sheet 2. Blue Line. F-6-3482
- 1893 New Orleans Streets Dept. Riverfront, Toulouse to St. Louis. Blue Line. F-6-3501
- 1893 New Orleans Streets Dept. Riverfront, Canal to St. Louis. Sheet 9. Blue Line. F-6-3524
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- May, 1887 Office of City Surveyor. P. A. d'Hemecourt. Plan Showing the River Front from Canal Street to Esplanade Street. Blue Line. New Orleans Streets Dept. A True Copy annexed to Record, Supreme Court of the United States, October term, 1888, No. 1104

1883 Atlas of the City of New Orleans, Louisiana. Based upon Surveys furnished by John F. Braun, Surveyor and Architect, New Orleans. Compiled by and under the Supervision of E. Robinson and R. H. Pidgeon, Civil Engineers. New York: E. Robinson, 1883.

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c. 1850 ----. City Surveyor. Lake Levee. NOPL. Photograph

31 December 1833 Joseph Pilie. City Surveyor. Plan of twenty six lots of ground situated in front of the City of New Orleans, forming the space bounded by Bienville, Customhouse, Levee Streets and the Public Road, intersected by Clinton street; now in litigation between the United States and the Corporation of said City. Notarial Archives. Attached to act of Octave Morel, XV/85. July 6, 1888. Xerox

12 September 1831 Joseph Pilie. City Surveyor. Plan, Coupe et profil d'un des Wharfs projetes devant les rues Toulouse, St. Pierre et Esplanade. NOPL. Photograph

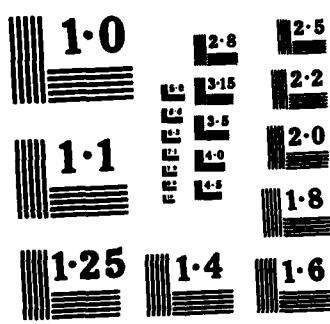
- c. 1830 ----- City Surveyor. Plan represente.. .
a la levee actuelle [No. 66 or No. 807,
Surveyors Files]. NOPL. Photograph
- c. 1830 Barthelemy Lafon. City Surveyor. Pont
projete. NOPL. Photograph
- 1830, May 7 Joseph Pilie. City Surveyor. Face et Profil
d'un Wharf ou Quai, projete pour faciliter le
chargement et dechagement des Navires,
Steam-boats, Chalans et autres embarcations,
soit aux eaux hautes ou aux basses eaux. MaM
830/1. NOPL.
- 1830, April 130 Joseph Pilie. City Surveyor. Plan
representant une augmentation en terre pro-
jetee a la levee depuis la rue Bienville
jusqua celle Poydras, aussi dix Wharfs en
bois marques par les lettres A, B, C, D, E,
F, G, H, I, K sur le present plan. . . .
MaM 830/8, NOPL
- 1829, October 21 Joseph Pilie. City Surveyor. Plan d'un
augmentation projectee a la Levee du
Faubourg Marigny afin de faciliter le charge-
ment et décharement des Navires tant aux
eaux basses qu'aux eaux hautes. MaM 829/3a.
NOPL. Old #20.
- 1828, September 5 Joseph Pilie. City Surveyor. Plan figuratif
des Remblais a faire a la N'lle Levee
du Faubourg Ste Marie. MaM 828/1. NOPL.
See also MaM 829/3, same as above for Girod
to Delord
- 1827, November 25 Joseph Pilie. City Surveyor. Plan of the
front part of the City of New Orleans,
showing the additions, alterations and
improvements made on the old Quays and
Levees of the said City together with
the deposits of alluvion made by the
River from the year 1818 to this date.
Vieux Carre Survey Archives. Reproduced
in Wilson 1968: 70.
- 1827, June 15 Joseph Pilie. City Surveyor. Plan repre-
sentant l'elargissement projete a la levee
du Faubourg Ste Marie afin de faciliter le
chargement et dechagement des Bateaux-a~
vapeur, Chalans, et autres embarcations
Dresse en vertu d'une resolution du
Conseil de Ville, en date du 9 Juin courant.
MaM 827/1. NOPL.

AD A145 984 ARCHAVAL EVALUATION OF FLOODWALL ALIGNMENTS: NEW
ORLEANS (LOUISIANA) REEVES (SALLY K AND WILLIAM D) NEW
ORLEANS LA S K REEVES ET AL 15 NOV 83 PD RC R3 07
DAEW29 R2 M 1980

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- 1824, July 31 Joseph Pilie. City Surveyor. Plan croquis d'un des Wharf projetees pour le port de la N'lle Orleans. MaM 824/1. NOPL.
- 15 Septembre 1821 Joseph Pilie. City Surveyor. Plan, Coupe, et Elevation de la Charpente du revetement de la levee a partir plus bas que la Rue St. Louis jusques vers la rue St. Pierre; projetees pour arrêter les progres des eboulis et faciliter le dechargement des navires. NOPL. Photograph
- 10 Aout 1820 ----. City Surveyor. Plan, Coupe et Profil d'un Pont projecte pour verser les ordeur aux fleuve. NOPL. Photograph
- 20 Novembre 1819 J. Pilie. City Surveyor. Face du revetement pour laisser echapper les Eaux pluvia les dans[sic] le Fleuve. NOPL. Photograph
- 2 Septembre 1819 ----. City Surveyor. revetement projete pour une partie de la Levee en face de la Ville. NOPL. Photograph
- 9 Juin 1818 ----. City Surveyor. Plan, Coupes et profiles d'un Chalan destine a recevoir les immondices et a les verser dans le Fleuve. Dessine a la demande du Conseil de Ville. NOPL. Photograph
- 21 Septembre 1812 Jacques Tanesse. City Surveyor. Coupe de la Charpente, pour servir au revetement de la Levee en face de la halle des Boucheries de cette ville. NOPL. Photograph

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